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# **A Critical Study of the Thirteen Later Translations of the Dzogchen Mind Series**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in  
2012

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## Abstract

This study focuses on a revered group of thirteen early Tibetan Buddhist works from the rDzogs chen tradition. The main goals of the research were to translate and edit the texts to make them available for the first time to international scholarship and interested readers, and to investigate their history, authorship, and doctrinal affiliations. Another important aim was to discover what light the texts could shed on the origins of rDzogs chen.

The Introduction outlines the main aspects of rDzogs chen thought, and discusses in detail the doctrinal and literary context. Part One examines the Thirteen Later Translations themselves, under three main headings: issues of identity, issues of composition, and key doctrinal elements. A thorough analysis is carried out of the texts' title lists and sources. The problem of several missing or misidentified texts is addressed. Parts Two and Three consist of English translations and editions.

The study uncovers new links between several of the texts and historical masters named in early records. By matching citations of the texts in an early tenth-century work, the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, it succeeds in identifying four works previously considered lost. Finally, it sheds light on the historical emergence of rDzogs chen, showing that the thirteen texts include aspects of traditions such as Mahāyoga that were later considered to be distinct from rDzogs chen.

Abstract.....	3
Acknowledgements.....	7
Introduction.....	8
The rNying ma school.....	8
The rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum.....	9
rDzogs chen .....	11
<i>Approaching the Tradition</i> .....	11
<i>An Overview</i> .....	12
The Mind Series (Sems sde) and the Three Series System.....	17
<i>The Antiquity of the Three Series System</i> .....	17
<i>The Mind Series as Doctrine</i> .....	22
<i>The Mind Series as a Literary Tradition</i> .....	23
<i>Mind Series Lineages</i> .....	25
<i>Mind Series Praxis</i> .....	26
The Doctrinal Context.....	28
<i>The Question of non-Buddhist Influences on early rDzogs chen</i> .....	29
<i>rDzogs chen and Chan</i> .....	32
<i>rDzogs chen and Mahāyoga</i> .....	40
The Literary Context: Key Related Texts.....	47
<i>The Five Earlier Translations (sNga 'gyur lnga)</i> .....	47
<i>The Rosary of Views (Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba)</i> .....	53
<i>The Works of gNyan dpal dbyangs</i> .....	57
<i>The Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation (bSam gtan mig sgron)</i> .....	60
<i>The All-creating King (Kun byed rgyal po)</i> .....	62
<i>Commentary Texts on the Thirteen Later Translations</i> .....	66
<i>The Nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud,(Tb 40) and the Rin po che dang mnyam pa skye ba med pa'i rgyud (Tb 41)</i> .....	70
<i>The Eighteen Songs of Realization</i> .....	73
Summary.....	78
Concluding Reflections.....	81
Part One – The Thirteen Later Translations .....	84
A Issues of Identity .....	84
i A Fluid Canon - the Texts as a Group .....	84
ii Lists of the Texts .....	88
<i>Sources that List the Eighteen Texts</i> .....	91
<i>Stable Texts and Fluid Texts</i> .....	99
<i>Variant Spellings and Anomalies</i> .....	101
iii Location and Order of the Texts Themselves.....	102
<i>Texts in the Vairo rgyud 'bum</i> .....	103
<i>Texts in the mTshams brag NGB</i> .....	105
<i>Texts in the gTing skyes NGB</i> .....	107
<i>Texts in the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu NGB</i> .....	109
<i>Texts in the sDe dge NGB</i> .....	110
iv Missing Texts.....	112
<i>The Importance of the bSam gtan mig sgron</i> .....	112

1. <i>The bsGom pa don grub</i> .....	112
2. <i>The Thig le drug pa</i> .....	118
3. <i>The Byang chub sems tig</i> .....	122
4. <i>The Yid bzhin nor bu</i> .....	128
5. <i>The rDzogs pa spyi chings</i> .....	132
v Two "Unlisted" Texts .....	136
<i>The gNam spar 'debs</i> .....	137
<i>The bDe ba'i myu gu</i> .....	137
Conclusion .....	139
B Issues of Composition .....	141
i The Question of Sanskrit Originals .....	141
ii Authorship and Dating.....	144
C Key Doctrinal Elements .....	150
Ground, Path, and Fruition.....	150
Part Two - English Translations of the Thirteen Texts.....	154
Introduction to the Translations – General Reflections on Methodology.....	154
Victory Banner of the Summit.....	160
The King of the Sky.....	177
The Jewel-Array of Bliss .....	189
Universally Inclusive [Perfection] .....	194
The Essence of Bodhicitta .....	202
Soft Bliss.....	203
The Wheel of Life.....	207
The Six Spheres .....	211
Universally Definitive Perfection .....	215
The Wish-fulfilling Jewel .....	217
All-inclusiveness.....	220
The Sublime King.....	225
Accomplishing the Aim of Meditation .....	228
Part Three - Editions .....	230
Introduction to the Editions .....	230
Methods.....	230
The Main Sources .....	232
Patterns of Textual Transmission.....	233
Sigla used in the editions .....	235
rTse mo byung rgyal Edition .....	236
Nam mkha'i rgyal po Edition .....	253
bDe ba phra bkod Edition .....	265
Spyi bcings Edition.....	268
Byang chub sems tig Edition .....	273
bDe 'jam Edition.....	274
Srog gi 'khor lo Edition .....	277
Thig le drug pa Edition .....	280
rDzogs pa spyi gcod Edition .....	283
Kham sgron ma /Yid bzhin nor bu Edition.....	285
Kun 'dus Edition.....	288

rJe btsan dam pa Edition .....	292
sGom pa don grub Edition .....	295
Bibliography .....	297
Appendix.....	306

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## Introduction

### *The rNying ma school*

The rNying ma school, as its name (“old” or “ancient”) suggests, is the oldest of the four main schools that characterise Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetans have traditionally divided their early Buddhist history into two periods: an earlier diffusion (*snga dar*) from the seventh to the mid ninth century, and a later diffusion (*phyi dar*) from the late tenth century onwards. These two periods are also associated with two phases of translation of Buddhist scripture into Tibetan, designated “early” and “new” respectively (*snga/ gsar 'gyur*).

The rNying ma school, so-designated retrospectively to distinguish it from the “New” (*gsar ma pa*) Schools, includes the traditions and lineages of the *snga dar* and the *snga 'gyur* scriptures. Indeed, it is sometimes known as the “*snga 'gyur rNying ma*”.

There was a century-long intermediate period between the end of the Imperial period (842), and the arrival of Atiśa in West Tibet (1042), marking the beginning of the *phyi dar*. During this time Tibetan Buddhism altered dramatically. State-sponsored monasticism and centralised control of translation activity, especially in regard to tantric materials, gave way to non-monastic practitioners and unregulated translators of Vajrayāna.<sup>1</sup> Practices that came to the fore in this

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<sup>1</sup> I deliberately generalise here for the sake of narrative clarity. The real picture seems to have been considerably more complex. Monastic ordination is known to have survived in Eastern Tibet (Khams), and some non-Vajrayāna literature, such as the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *mNgon pa kun bñus*, continued to be transmitted to some extent. See Martin, 2002, p 345.

period included the Great Perfection (*rDzogs chen*)<sup>2</sup>, as well as “Union” or ritualised sex (*sbyor ba*) and the destruction of negative forces through symbolic violence, termed “liberation” (*sgrol ba*).

These figured in such scriptures as the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, for which no textual evidence could be found in India when the New Schools, with their revived monasticism and emphasis on orthodoxy, began to compile collections of texts. Proponents of the New Schools challenged the authenticity of many earlier translated scriptures, claiming that they were authored by Tibetans rather than translated from Sanskrit originals. On these grounds, the New Schools excluded from their canonical collections (known as the *bka' 'gyur* and the *bstan 'gyur*) the majority of rNying ma scriptures.

### ***The rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum***

The “Hundred Thousand Tantras of the rNying ma” (*rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*) is the rNying ma school's main canonical textual collection. It is exclusively composed of Vajrayāna scriptures, drawn from what the rNying ma school considers to be the three highest tantric vehicles. The early history of its compilation is unfortunately obscure; a problem greatly exacerbated by the enormous loss of textual evidence during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. However, compilation of *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* seems to have begun at least partly as a reaction to the New Schools' rejection of rNying ma scriptures, around the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> The survival of the *Man ngag sde'i rgyud bcu bdun* hints at possible earlier textual compilations that may have been brought together to form proto-*rgyud 'bum* collections.

An important early proto-collection is known to have existed in the rNying ma monastery of Zur 'ug pa lung, located east of gZhis ka rtse, between the eleventh

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<sup>2</sup> For an overview of rDzogs chen, see below p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> See Davidson, 2005, p. 225.

to thirteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> 'Jigs med gling pa (writing in the eighteenth century) described it as “rough” or “incomplete” (*rags rim*).<sup>5</sup> Kapstein argues plausibly that it was from the Zur lineage<sup>6</sup> that the initial parts of the Vairo rgyud 'bum probably arose, in Western Tibet. It is thus possible that the earliest core of the Vairo rgyud 'bum derives from the Zur 'ug pa lung collection.

In the early thirteenth century Nam mkha' dpal, son of the *gter ston* Nyang ral nyi ma'i 'od zer, compiled a collection said to have consisted of thirty volumes, incorporating 335 works of both the Old and New tantras.<sup>7</sup>

Zur bZang po dpal compiled another collection, based apparently on the earlier 'Ug pa lung one, early in the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

In about 1462 Ratna gLing pa compiled the Lhun grub pho brang *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* in Lho ka. This comprised forty or forty-two volumes, and thirteen complete sets of it were made. 'Jigs med gling pa in the eighteenth century compiled another manuscript edition, for which only the catalogue survives, but shortly afterwards one of his disciples, dGe rtse rin po che, with the patronage of the sDe dge royal house, had the first xylographic edition printed in sDe dge.<sup>9</sup>

Nine versions of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* are extant and easily accessible. Their length ranges from 26 to 46 volumes. Recent work by Cantwell and Mayer<sup>10</sup> has posited that they fall into three transmission groups: four Bhutanese versions all based on a Lha lung original (mTshams brag, sGang steng A, sGang steng B, sBra me'i rtse); four Southern Central Tibetan versions based on a common ancestor in that region (Rig 'dzin, gTing skyes, Kathmandu and Nubri); and sDe dge, the single witness in the Eastern Tibetan group.

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<sup>4</sup> See Mayer 1996, p. 223-224.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> Kapstein 2008, p. 283-284.

<sup>7</sup> See Mayer 1996, p. 224-225.

<sup>8</sup> Mayer 1996, p.225.

<sup>9</sup> See Achard, 2002.

<sup>10</sup> See Cantwell and Mayer, 2006, p.7.

## *rDzogs chen*

### *Approaching the Tradition*

rDzogs chen today is generally expounded as a uniform system, without much acknowledgment of its chronological development. There are several reasons for this. rDzogs chen doctrines have not altered greatly since their authoritative synthesis by the great fourteenth-century master Klong chen pa. This period is now so remote that the doctrines, even if frequently re-stated,<sup>11</sup> have become very firmly-established, with an aura of ageless immutability. This is reinforced by their sacred status as the pinnacle of the spiritual path: they are considered quite capable of leading the serious practitioner to Buddhahood in one lifetime. In addition, since at least the eleventh century, the rNying ma pa have responded to persistent criticism that rDzogs chen is not an authentic Buddhist doctrine by passing over in relative silence its early historical development in Tibet in favour of narratives emphasizing its initial revelation, complete and fully-formed, by the buddha Vajrasattva to dGa' rab rDo rje<sup>12</sup> and a sequence of prestigious Indian masters.

Thus there is a tendency to treat rDzogs chen as an ahistorical phenomenon whose fundamental doctrines have existed forever unaltered, merely being revealed at suitable times, rather than originating from human authors. Although this study in general sets out to adopt a more rigorously historical, analytical (etic) approach, it is appropriate to offer at least an outline of the tradition in its own terms, that is, an emic account. It is, in any case, helpful first to understand the principal elements that characterize rDzogs chen as it exists at present, before any attempt at historical analysis is undertaken.

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<sup>11</sup> *gTer ma* teachings in particular have continued to restate and refresh the rDzogs chen tradition since that date.

<sup>12</sup> The Indic form of dGa' rab rdo rje's name is disputed.

What follows therefore sets out a concise overview of rDzogs chen as it is taught by contemporary teachers in the tradition deriving from Klong chen pa, the *Klong chen snying thig*, which is the tradition most prevalent at the present time.<sup>13</sup>

### ***An Overview***

rDzogs chen<sup>14</sup>, usually translated as "the Great Perfection", is a Tibetan philosophical and contemplative system. Its central doctrine is that pure awareness (*rig pa*) of the true nature of one's mind (*sems nyid* / *sems kyi rang bzhin*) actualizes the state of enlightenment. The term "Great Perfection", while on the relative level it refers to a set of doctrines, ultimately refers to this enlightened state, the goal of all Buddhists.

rDzogs chen explains that ignorance (*ma rig pa*) of the mind's true nature is the cause of sentient beings' suffering in cyclic existence. The conceptual dualistic processes of ordinary mind (*sems*) obscure *rig pa*, just as clouds may temporarily obscure the sun, which is nevertheless always present. As Klong chen rab 'byams wrote in the fourteenth century,

The 'nature of one's mind' refers to the actual basis for the arising of *rig pa* on the exhaustion (*zad sa*) of the ordinary mind (*sems*). Therefore it does not refer to ordinary mind.<sup>15</sup>

This state only needs to be recognised, not accomplished. This recognition usually follows what is known as an "introduction" or "pointing-out instruction" (*ngo*

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<sup>13</sup> This is also the tradition that I am personally most familiar with, having received teachings from numerous lamas of the Klong chen snying thig lineage.

<sup>14</sup> Written in its longer Tibetan form, it is *rdzogs pa chen po*.

<sup>15</sup> *bLa ma yang tig*, vol 5, p. 7: '*dir sems nyid ces smos pas sems kyi zad sa rig pa 'char gzhi nyid la zer gyis sems la mi zer ro*.

'*phrod*) performed by the teacher using various methods.<sup>16</sup> The basic practice of rDzogs chen consists simply in remaining in and increasing in familiarity with this state, up to the point where one becomes inseparable from it.

The rNying ma master Rong zom chos kyi bzang po described it thus in the eleventh century<sup>17</sup> : "It is just resting the mind in accord with one's realization of [its] true nature."<sup>18</sup>

rDzogs chen presents both simultaneous and gradualist aspects with regard to enlightenment.<sup>19</sup> The simultaneous aspect is its teaching of innate enlightenment, inherited from such scriptures as the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*<sup>20</sup>. The gradualist aspect, as it has developed over time, emphasizes various preliminary practices (*sngon 'gro*) to remove obscurations and negative emotions.<sup>21</sup>

One can also view rDzogs chen practice itself as gradualist, since it basically consists of remaining for progressively longer periods in the state of *rig pa*. Although simple in principle, this is said to be extremely difficult for most people. Tulku Thondup sums up this point:

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<sup>16</sup> "Pointing out" methods of introduction frequently depend on the element of surprise or shock. Examples enshrined in narrative accounts include the sudden slap delivered by Tilopa to his student Naropa, paralleled in the nineteenth century by the unexpected blows inflicted on dPa' sprul rin po che by Do mkhyen rtse ye shes rdo rje. See Patrul Rinpoche, (trans. Padmakara Translation Group) 1996, p.159, and Sogyal Rinpoche 1992, p. 157. Such one-to-one confrontations have now been largely replaced by rather more formal, group introductions, at least in the context of Dharma centres and gatherings involving large numbers of students.

<sup>17</sup> *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa*, p.185.1: *rang bzhin ji ltar rtogs pa de dang mthun par blo gnas pa tsam du zad do/*

<sup>18</sup> This eleventh century statement is remarkably consistent with modern ones such as this in Norbu, 2000, p.175: "The principal practice of Dzogchen is to enter directly into non-dual contemplation, and to remain in it, continuing to deepen it until one reaches Total Realization."

<sup>19</sup> For a more extensive discussion of simultaneous and gradual aspects in rDzogs chen, see van Schaik, 2004, pp. 3-19.

<sup>20</sup> On the *Tathagatagarbha* doctrine, see below p.16.

<sup>21</sup> The most common preliminary practices are the same as those that precede tantric practice of deity yoga. The principal elements are: taking refuge, arousing *bodhicitta*, purification practice through Vajrasattva meditation, mandala offering, and guru yoga. The most famous work on *sngon 'gro* practice is *The Words of my Perfect Teacher* (*Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*) written by the nineteenth-century master dPal sprul Rin po che. See Patrul Rinpoche, 1994, *passim*.

“For ordinary people like us, to attain the state of the utmost simplicity and ease is the hardest goal to accomplish.”<sup>22</sup>

Beginners may sometimes confuse the state of *rig pa* with that of the meditation practice of Calm Abiding (*zhi gnas/samatha*). rDzogs chen masters emphasize an important distinction between them: *rig pa* completely transcends the processes of the ordinary mind (*sems*), but *samatha* does not. *Rig pa* is described as “the unaltered state” (*ma bcos pa*) of pure awareness, without any manipulating or grasping. When one is in this state, there is no doubt. Sogyal Rinpoche writes: “*Rig pa* is a state in which there is no longer any doubt: you see directly. If you are in this state, a complete, natural certainty and confidence surge up with the *rig pa* itself, and that is how you know.”<sup>23</sup>

rDzogs chen is found in both the Buddhist and Bon po traditions. Both claim that it was originally introduced to Tibet, either from Western India (Oḍḍiyāna) in the Buddhist case, or from Zhang Zhung according to the Bon po. Although practised to some extent by all the four main Tibetan Buddhist schools<sup>24</sup>, it is the rNying ma or "Ancient" school that is most closely associated with rDzogs chen. As the summit of the nine vehicles (*yāna*) into which this school categorizes the Buddhist teachings, rDzogs chen is also referred to by the Sanskrit term *Ati yoga*, "surpassing yoga" or "extraordinary yoga" (*shin tu rnal 'byor /lhag pa'i rnal 'byor*).

For centuries rDzogs chen was an esoteric doctrine whose most secret instructions were given only to a chosen few intimate disciples. However, since the Tibetan Diaspora in the 1950s rDzogs chen has gained increasing popularity among non-Tibetans, notably in Europe and the United States.

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<sup>22</sup> Thondup, 1989, p. xiv.

<sup>23</sup> Sogyal Rinpoche, 1992, p. 159.

<sup>24</sup> That is, the *Rnying ma*, *Sa skya*, *bKa' brgyud* and *dGe lugs* schools.

The first scholar with a Western academic training to turn his attention to the obscure and frequently controversial historical origins of rDzogs chen was, in fact, Tibetan. In his pioneering 1988 work "The Great Perfection",<sup>25</sup> Karmay scrutinized the evidence in the earliest literature. He established the relative antiquity of rDzogs chen by drawing attention to two rDzogs chen works among the Dunhuang texts<sup>26</sup>, namely *The Cuckoo of Awareness* (*Rig pa'i khu byug*) and *The Hidden Little Gleaning* (*sBas pa'i rgum chung*). Most scholars initially believed that these, and the rest of the Dunhuang Tibetan documents, could not post-date the end of the Tibetan occupation there in 848 C.E. However, this view has since been shown to be untenable.<sup>27</sup> Even so, as the Dunhuang cave was sealed in 1006 C.E., these two texts must have been written down before then.

Later tradition considers both texts to belong to the rDzogs chen Mind Series (*sems sde*)<sup>28</sup>. The "mind" is understood here to be not the mind of everyday, deluded consciousness, but the mind of enlightenment (Skt. *bodhicitta*, Tib. *byang chub sems*). Meditation on the mind of enlightenment in the rDzogs chen sense is not the same as in the general Mahāyāna. In the latter, it is the cultivation of the intention to liberate oneself from Saṃsāra for the sake of all sentient beings. One accomplishes this by gradually purifying or transforming oneself into an enlightened being or buddha.

In contrast, the rDzogs chen practitioner is said to rest, although at first perhaps only briefly, in the totally-pure state of liberation itself. This is described as primordially-present (*ye gnas*) and spontaneously-accomplished (*lhun grub*). The

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<sup>25</sup> Karmay, 1988, pp.41-59.

<sup>26</sup> Professor Namkhai norbu drew notice to these two texts at around the same time.

<sup>27</sup> Since Karmay's work was published, advances in Dunhuang studies have shown that Tibetan continued to be used in the area long after it ceased to be the official language in the mid-ninth century. Documents in Tibetan were still being produced and /or used until shortly before the cave was sealed, around the year 1006. Furthermore, van Schaik dates the two Dunhuang rDzogs chen texts on palaeographic grounds to no earlier than the tenth century. See <http://earlytibet.com/2008/01/08/early-dzogchen-i>

<sup>28</sup> The former text is particularly important since traditional historical accounts assert that it was the first rDzogs chen scripture ever to be translated into Tibetan, by the famous scholar-translator (*lo tsa ba*) Vairocana, in the eighth century.



goal or fruition of rDzogs chen is therefore said to be the same as its basis. As Rong zom chos kyi bzang po put it,

In the scriptures of rDzogs chen, the nature of *bodhicitta* and the method of resting in *bodhicitta* are not different methods.<sup>29</sup>

Buddha-matrix or essence (*tathāgatagarbha*), the doctrine that buddhahood is the essential nature of all sentient beings, is an important part of the basic view of rDzogs chen. It is found in scriptures such as the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, where the Buddha states that all beings, despite transmigrating in Saṃsāra due to their defilements,

are possessed of the Matrix of the Tathāgata, endowed with virtues, always pure, and hence are not different from me.<sup>30</sup>

The renowned rDzogs chen master 'Jigs med gling pa, writing in the eighteenth century, quoted the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*:

The secret buddha-essence, naturally and totally pure,  
I proclaim that it does not change and does not transfer.<sup>31</sup>

The *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* goes so far as to assert that the *tathāgatagarbha* is nothing other than the Self (*ātman*). This Self, however, is not a Self as taught by non-Buddhists - although it may be a skilful means to convert them. It is not a

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<sup>29</sup> Rong zom, *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa*, p.185.1: *rdzogs pa chen po'i gzhang gis/ byang chub sems kyi rang bzhin dang/ byang chub sems kyi gzhang thabs gnyis la tshul tha dad med do/*

<sup>30</sup> Zimmermann, 2002, p. 252: *nyon mongs pa thams cad kyis nyon mongs pa can du gyur pa de dag gi nang na/ de bzhin gshegs pa'i chos nyid mi g.yo zhang/ srid pa'i 'gro ba thams cad kyis ma gos pa dag mthong nas/ de bzhin gshegs pa de dag ni nga dang 'dra'o zhes smra'o/* Translated in Takasaki, 1958, 51; quoted in Williams, 2005 p. 96.

<sup>31</sup> *Yon tan rin po che'i mdzod las 'bras bu'i theg pa'i rgya cher 'grel nam mkhyen shing rta*, in *Kun mkhyen 'jigs med gling pa'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, fol. 267v. 2: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsang ba'i snying po rang bzhin yongs su dag pa mi 'gyur mi 'pho bar ston to*. Quoted in Thondup, 1996, p. 94.

basis for attachment and grasping, but is rather the element that enables sentient beings to become enlightened - their ultimate nature.<sup>32</sup>

The debt that rDzogs chen owes to this *tathāgatagarbha* tradition, which predated its own emergence by several centuries,<sup>33</sup> is indisputable. As modern rDzogs chen master, Tulku Thondup writes:

If Buddha-essence is taught in the lower yānas, what distinguishes *Dzogpa Chen po*? The unique distinction of Dzogpa Chenpo is not the Buddha-essence but the profundity of its view of the Buddha-essence and the swiftness of its path of training in it.<sup>34</sup>

### ***The Mind Series (Sems sde) and the Three Series System.***

#### ***The Antiquity of the Three Series System***

In the present-day rNying ma school, rDzogs chen doctrines are divided into three sections or series (*sde*), namely the Mind Series, (*sems sde*), the Space Series (*klong sde*) and the Instruction Series (*man ngag sde*).

Many Tibetan authors ascribe the classification into the Three Series to the eighth-century Indian scholar and early rDzogs chen master Mañjuśrīmitra. However, the first known reference to the Three Series occurs in an Instruction

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<sup>32</sup> The idea taught in this sūtra of a “selfless self” is echoed, for example, in the *sPyi bcings*, where it is explained as being the Great Self (*bdag nyid chen po*).

<sup>33</sup> The *Tathāgatagarbha* scriptures generally date to the Indian Gupta period, spanning the fourth to sixth centuries C.E. See Williams, 2005, p. 100.

<sup>34</sup> Thondup, 1996, p. 95.

Series Tantra.<sup>35</sup> To my knowledge, none of the texts now classified as belonging to the Mind Series identifies itself as such. This includes the Thirteen Later Translations, in which there is not a single instance of the term "Mind Series," or of the other two Series, for that matter. The fact that there is no reference in the earliest rDzogs chen texts to any of the Three Series undermines the traditional claim that the Three Series co-existed from the time of Mañjuśrīmitra. On the other hand, it supports the argument of some modern scholars that the earliest rDzogs chen scriptures were only retroactively "classified as the Mind Series to distinguish them from later developments."<sup>36</sup>

Achard, in contrast, points out<sup>37</sup> a possible early reference to an Instruction Series work to support his belief that all three series were contemporary. The *Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation* (*bSam gtan mig sgron*) written around the turn of the tenth century<sup>38</sup>, refers to a certain *Klong drug*<sup>39</sup>. A work now included<sup>40</sup> within the Instruction Series bears the same title. There are also three citations from a commentary possibly on the same work, stated to be by Vimalamitra, entitled the *Klong 'grel*.<sup>41</sup> However, the aforesaid citations have not so far been found in the *Klong 'grel* that has come down to us.<sup>42</sup> van Schaik has also suggested that the *Klong 'grel* cited here could be a commentary on a different text, the *mTsho klong* (*Byang chub kyi sems rgya mtsho klong dgu'i rgyud*, Tb. 69).<sup>43</sup> Without a definite match for these citations the identity of the *Klong drug* text remains in doubt.

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<sup>35</sup> That is, the *sGra thal 'gyur*. See van Schaik 2004, p. 8 and p. 325 n.11, referencing Gyatso 1998 p.300 n.53. Kapstein 2008 also notes (p. 283 n.25) a single reference to the threefold classification in the biography of Khyung po rnal 'byor, written c. 1140, but his view is that this may represent a later editorial intervention.

<sup>36</sup> Germano, 2005 p. 11. See also van Schaik 2004 p. 8, and Kapstein 2008, p. 283 n. 25.

<sup>37</sup> Achard J.L, 1999, p. 240.

<sup>38</sup> See below page 60 for details of this text.

<sup>39</sup> STMG p.33.4

<sup>40</sup> There is of course a possibility that the *Klong drug* may have been included within the Instruction Series at a later date.

<sup>41</sup> STMG 9.1 /9.3; 276.4; 456.1.

<sup>42</sup> This is in the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, vol. 100. Achard notes (*loc. cit.*) that he may have overlooked the presence of the relevant citations due to the length and density of this text.

<sup>43</sup> van Schaik, 2004 p.196 n.88.

On the other hand, I succeeded in locating (in a previous study<sup>44</sup>) another source cited by the *bSam gtan mig sgron*. This source includes explicit references to an Instruction Series practice. One of several commentaries on the *rDo la gser zhun*,<sup>45</sup> this is mTshams brag text no. 76, the *Thams cad nam mkha'i ngo bo skye ba med pa'i byang chub kyi sems bsgom pa'i rgyud*.<sup>46</sup> This text, which must therefore predate the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, twice mentions *thod rgal*.<sup>47</sup> *Thod rgal* is a characteristic practice of the Instruction Series that involves spontaneous visions of rainbow-coloured light rays and *thig le*, sometimes practised in conditions of total darkness.

That said, caution is still due. Tb 76 must predate the *bSam gtan mig sgron* at least in some form, but the version that has come down to us may have evolved since gNubs Sangs rgyas Ye shes cited from it. The *thod rgal* references may have been added later.<sup>48</sup> Alternatively, *thod rgal* practice itself may predate the Instruction Series.

Remarkably, three of the Thirteen Later Translations themselves contain passages that might conceivably prefigure *thod rgal*.<sup>49</sup> These are the *bDe 'byams*, *bDe ba phra bkod*, and *Srog gi 'khor lo*. For example, the following *bDe 'byams* passage appears to contain references to naturally-arising light rays and *bindu /thig le*:

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<sup>44</sup> Liljenberg K. 2008, *A Study of the Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i rgyud and related texts*; unpublished MA dissertation, SOAS, University of London.

<sup>45</sup> The text's title given in the STMG is *Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i rgyud*.

<sup>46</sup> There are also numerous citations from Tb. 76 in another commentary on the *rDo la gser zhun*, the *Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i bSam gtan rna mar rgyud* (Bg 4; VGB vol. 1 fol. 49 and following), translated in Lipman 2001, p. 35-51. Lipman (p. 145, n. 12) stated that he was unable to locate the source of these citations. For a complete concordance of them, see Liljenberg K. 2008 p. 39, and n. 187.

<sup>47</sup> Tb 76, p. 627 l.1. Its chapter 12 is also entitled "*jigs med thod rgal gyi skabs*".

<sup>48</sup> Investigation of the transmission history of Tb 76 may shed further light on this

<sup>49</sup> I reached this conclusion regarding the presence of possible *thod rgal* elements in some of the texts at a late stage in my study. Unfortunately I did not have sufficient time to fully explore its implications, to which I hope to devote further research.

In the *samaya* of the primordially luminous *bindu* there is nothing that can be called a vow.<sup>50</sup> The single sunrise of the wisdom mind is warmer than a thousand suns that rise from the peak of Mount Meru.

All the rays of light arise in oneself<sup>51</sup> - in that very arising there is no waning, in the three times.<sup>52</sup>

There are very similar passages in the *bDe ba phra bkod*; for example:

Because luminosity arises in oneself, the mind has no waning.<sup>53</sup>

And:

The luminosity that arises in oneself has neither day nor night.<sup>54</sup>

Such passages suggest that yogic practices of luminosity may already have been part of rDzogs chen doctrines, to some extent, when the earliest *Sems sde* literature was being produced.

This does not prove, however, that the Instruction Series itself had already come into being. Thus far, it has not been possible to establish that the Instruction Series and the Three-Series system existed in the eighth to tenth centuries, at least in written form.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> This line contains two words both commonly translated as “samaya”: *dam tshig* and *tha’ tshig*. The latter however has more the sense of ‘vow’ or ‘oath.’

<sup>51</sup> Dg /KSG omit this line

<sup>52</sup> mTshams brag, vol. Ka, fol. 310 r.6: *thig le ye nas gsal ba’i dam tshig la / tha tshig ming (l.7) du btags pa med / ri rab rtse nas nyi ma stong shar bas / ye shes thugs kyi nyi ma gcig shar dro / rang la thams cad shar ba’i ‘od zer ni / shar ba nyid na* (fol. 310 v. /p.620) *dus gsum nub pa med /*

<sup>53</sup> mTshams brag, vol. Ka fol. 312 r. 3: *snang* (l.3) *ba rang la shar bas sems la nub pa med /*

<sup>54</sup> mTshams brag vol. Ka, fol. 312 r. 5: *snang ba rang la shar bas nyin dang mtshan mo med /*

<sup>55</sup> The Tibetan term *man ngag*, translating the Sanskrit *upadeśa*, is sometimes orally glossed by modern rDzogs chen teachers as “not to be spoken [aloud in public]”. See Reynolds, 1996, p. 119. If *man ngag sde* teachings were indeed originally “not spoken”, that is, secret, they may also have existed for some length of time in non-written form, although this is obviously difficult to prove.

There is evidence, however, that the early rDzogs chen literature was first categorized not as *Sems sde* but under the similar rubric of *sems phyogs*. This can be translated as either "pertaining to the Mind" or indeed as the "Mind category." This term occurs, for example, in the early *sBa bshad*<sup>56</sup>, where it is associated with the composition of the *Man ngag lta ba'i 'phreng ba*, a text that is no later than the ninth century<sup>57</sup> since the *bSam gtan mig sgron* cites from it.<sup>58</sup> The full phrase in the *sBa bshad* reads: "nga'i gsang sngags sems phyogs", "my secret teaching pertaining to the mind."<sup>59</sup> "Secret teaching" is a literal translation of *gsang sngags*<sup>60</sup>, but this phrase normally denotes "Secret Mantra", another name for the Vajrayāna or Tantric Vehicle.<sup>61</sup>

There are also numerous later examples of the use of the term *sems phyogs*. These include the first text of the Collected Tantras of Vairocana (*Vairo rgyud 'bum*), the *sNying gi nyi ma*. This relates the tale of the eighth-century Tibetan master Vairocana receiving "esoteric instructions pertaining to the mind" (*man ngag sems phyogs*) from Śrī Simha in India.<sup>62</sup> The term *sems phyogs* persisted long after the rise of the Three Series system. The thirteenth-century Sa skya master Kun dga' rgyal mtshan<sup>63</sup> used it, although here with negative connotations. The *Blue Annals*, a history of Buddhism composed by Gos lo tsa ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481), also employs this term in its discussion of the transmission of early rDzogs chen doctrines.<sup>64</sup> Even as late as the eighteenth century, 'Jigs med gling

<sup>56</sup> On the *dBa bzhad/sBa bzhd*, see Wangdu and Diemberger, 2000.

<sup>57</sup> Or possibly earlier; traditionally attributed to Padmasambhava.

<sup>58</sup> See below p.60 for a more detailed discussion of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*.

<sup>59</sup> The speaker here is Padmasambhava.

<sup>60</sup> As translated by Karmay, see following note.

<sup>61</sup> Karmay cites this passage in his discussion of the antiquity of the *Man ngag lta ba'i 'phreng ba*, Karmay 1988, pp. 143, 144. In fact, the *Man ngag lta ba'i 'phreng ba* presents rDzogs chen as the state of supreme realization gained through the practice of the *Guhyagarbhatantra* (*rgyud gsang ba snying po*), rather than as a distinct vehicle or tradition of its own.

<sup>62</sup> *sNying gi nyi ma* in *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, vol. 1, p. 3. 2. On this text see Kapstein, 2008, p. 276, and also Wilkinson 2012, pp. 29-31, p. 43 and n. 62.

<sup>63</sup> In the context of his criticism of rDzogs chen, asserting that it was similar to the Mind Only School (*Cittamātra*). See Karmay, 1988, p. 179, n. 31.

<sup>64</sup> See Roerich, 1988, p. 170.

pa could utilize it, recounting the tale of the transmission of the Eighteen Texts by Śrī Simha to Vairocana and his companion.<sup>65</sup>

### ***The Mind Series as Doctrine***

When references to the Mind Series do start to appear in the literature, its doctrines are invariably ranked hierarchically below both the Space and Instruction Series. This is especially true from the fourteenth century onwards, when the authoritative writings of Klong chen pa presented the Instruction Series as being free from subtle flaws ascribed to the first two series, and so suitable for the best disciples.

Dudjom Rinpoche, one of the most renowned twentieth-century rNying ma masters, states<sup>66</sup> that in the Mind Series "all things are liberated from the extremes of renunciation because they are not separated from mind-as-such". He adds: "the spiritual and philosophical goal of the Mental Class transcends the subject-object dichotomy". Once the habitual dualistic perception of phenomena has been broken down by the process of meditative analysis, one's own mind is recognized as the basis of all appearances. This then leads to "a pristine cognition of great purity and sameness."<sup>67</sup>

Dudjom Rinpoche describes the Mind Series as taking mind as its starting point, in order to go beyond it. However, he considers the Mind Series inferior to the Space Series, whose "goal is the establishment of a great infinity of primordial

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<sup>65</sup> In his *De bzhin gshegs pas legs par gsung pa'i gsung rab rgya mtsho'i snying por gyur pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod dam / snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa rdzam gling tha gru khyab pa'i rgyan*, p.154.5 he uses the phrase *sems phyogs su grags pa* to refer to these texts, which he goes on to describe.

<sup>66</sup> Dudjom Rinpoche, 1991, vol. 1 p. 37.

<sup>67</sup> In modern rDzogs chen this pristine cognition of the true nature of one's mind (*sems nyid*) is termed *rig pa*, literally "seeing", sometimes translated as "gnosis". The student is "introduced" (*ngo phrad pa*) to it by the master.

liberation unscrutinised by mind."<sup>68</sup> He describes the Mind Series as falling short of the "radiance" achieved by the Space Series, and declares that it "almost clings to mental scrutiny because it does not recognize the expressive power of radiance to be reality." The Space Series itself "almost falls into the deviation of emptiness", while both the Mind and Space Series are surpassed by the Instruction Series "because it gathers all appearances of reality within reality itself."

Such distinctions between the philosophical view (*lta ba /dr̥ṣṭi*)<sup>69</sup> of the Mind Series and the other two series appear very subtle. Karmay aptly notes that "the differences in philosophy of the three are less discernible than the emphasis on their respective lineages and original sources."<sup>70</sup> However, the last really distinctive Mind Series lineages, if defined as those who practised Mind Series rDzogs chen exclusively, probably died out around the thirteenth century. The historical obscurity of these lineages is almost as profound as that affecting their Mind Series practice. Therefore, practically speaking, the Mind Series today is most clearly represented by its surviving texts. It would perhaps be overstating the situation to describe the Mind Series today as reduced to mere textual status, without the two supporting elements of a continuous commentarial and practice lineage.<sup>71</sup> However, the last two elements have become undeniably tenuous, and the Mind Series today is principally a literary tradition.

### ***The Mind Series as a Literary Tradition***

The earliest written sources of the Mind Series are the Eighteen Major Scriptures (*lung chen po bco brgyad*) which include the Thirteen Later Translations.<sup>72</sup> However, it is evident that in the late ninth century there was a considerably

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<sup>68</sup> Dudjom, 1991, vol. 1, p. 37.

<sup>69</sup> This term does not have the connotation of "wrong view" in rDzogs chen that it frequently does in Mahāyana literature in general.

<sup>70</sup> Karmay, 1988, p. 206.

<sup>71</sup> To my limited knowledge, the only present-day Tibetan master who occasionally gives Mind Series teachings based on original sources other than the *Kun byed rgyal po* is Namkhai Norbu.

<sup>72</sup> The *Kun byed rgyal po* is sometimes added to these foundational Mind Series texts although it may actually be later than the Eighteen Major Scriptures. See below, p. 62.



larger range of texts considered important for a rDzogs chen practitioner. gNubs Sangs rgyas Ye shes, in a passage listing "compatible books" (*mtshun pa'i dar ma*) in his *bSam gtan mig sgron*, mentions the following <sup>73</sup>: the *Six Spaces* (*Klong drug*)<sup>74</sup>; the *Group of four* [texts] (*bZhi phrugs*);<sup>75</sup> the *Six Tantras on Suchness* (*De kho na nyid kyi rgyud drug*)<sup>76</sup>; and finally, probably the earliest reference to a text-group that includes the Thirteen Later Translations - the *Twenty or Eighteen Minor* [texts on] *Mind* (*Sems phran nyi shu'am bco brgyad*). To these he adds "and so on" (*la sogs pa*), showing that this list is not exhaustive.<sup>77</sup>

Moreover, the fourteenth-century religious history entitled *Klong chen chos 'byung* precedes its list of the Eighteen Major Scriptures with the statement:

“Of the seventy-seven Mind Series [texts] that were present in the land of India, those translated into Tibetan [were]...”<sup>78</sup>

The first volume of the *Kathog sNyan brgyud* lists seven textual and doctrinal “cycles” (*skor*) of the *Sems phyogs* that seem to some extent to conflate the Mind and Space Series, suggesting that the firm distinction between the two series post-dates this categorization.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> This passage was first translated in Karmay, 1988, p. 97, where the titles are left untranslated.

<sup>74</sup> See above, p. 18.

<sup>75</sup> An interlinear note here comments "like the *Gi la ba* commentary and [its] recitation." (Amending to *kha don* the reading *ka don*). This may possibly be an early reference to the practice of [Vajra]kilāya, although this could not, strictly speaking, be regarded as a rDzogs chen practice *per se*. The phrase *bzhi phrugs*, meaning something like "group of four", also occurs in a list of old Tibetan works found in *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, a 15<sup>th</sup> century composition by dPa' bo gtsug lag: "The group of four Objections and Replies of dPal brtsegs and Klu'i rgyal mtshan" (*dPal brtsegs dang Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyi brgal lan bzhi phrugs*) *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (PRC ed.), pp. 401-2.

<sup>76</sup> Possibly to be identified with the *Rim pa gnyis pa'i de kho na nyid sgom pa zhes bya ba'i zhal gyi lung*, D 715 and D 716, oral teachings received from Mañjuśrīmitra by Srī Siṃha and transmitted by him to Vairocana, who is said to have taught on them several times while in Khams, according to the 15<sup>th</sup> century *Blue Annals*, Chengdu p.212; Roerich p. 167.

<sup>77</sup> STMG 33.4-5.

<sup>78</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, vol. 2, p. 51.2: *sems sde'i skor la/ rgya gar gyi yul na sems sde bdun cu tsa bdun bzugs pa la/ bod du 'gyur ba la/*

<sup>79</sup> *Ka thog khrid chen bcu gsum*, vol. 1, fol. 20v.3.

The increasing popularity of the Instruction Series contributed to the obscurity into which such cycles of the Mind Series as a literary tradition later fell. Further research is needed in this area in order to be able to properly understand the ways in which the considerable corpus of extant Mind Series literature was originally organised.

### ***Mind Series Lineages***

Tradition holds that Vairocana was the founder of the Mind Series lineage in Tibet. He is said to have translated the Five Early Translations from Sanskrit. g.Yu sgra snying po and gNyags Jñānakumara follow him in the lineage histories. These two Tibetan masters, under the supervision of the Indian Vimalamitra, are credited with translating the Thirteen Later Translations.

Given his association with these Mind Series works, it is striking that tradition now links Vimalamitra more closely to the Instruction Series transmission.<sup>80</sup> Vimalamitra thus has a slightly paradoxical status, as the chief translator of a series of teachings from whose lineage he seems rather divorced.<sup>81</sup> This may have come about due to a perceived need to demonstrate that the principal texts of the Instruction Series, known as the Seventeen Tantras, had a venerable Indic origin. This was effected by linking them to Vimalamitra, who is said to have transmitted them to Myang Ting nge 'dzin. The latter is then believed to have hidden them for future rediscovery in a manner very similar to later "treasure" texts (*gter ma*).

According to traditional histories, the Mind Series subsequently developed into two main geographically-based lineages: the Rong Tradition (*Rong lugs*) of

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<sup>80</sup> Vimalamitra is the supposed origin of the *Bima snying thig* cycle of *gter ma* teachings, an important part of the *snying thig* doctrines of the Instruction Series.

<sup>81</sup> Also of possible relevance to this topic is the story found in the *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i sgron me rtsod zlog seng ge'i nga ro* by Rat na gling pa (1403–1479), relating how Vimalamitra, about to depart for Tibet, removed and took with him all of the rDzogs chen teachings that had been hidden by the Indian pandits (as unsuitable for the present time) under a vase-shaped pillar at Vajrāsana. (Bodh Gaya). This does not fit with most traditional accounts of the respective roles of Vairocana and Vimalamitra in the transmission lineages, as pointed out by Neumaier-Dargyay, 1999, p. 47, n. 50.

central Tibet, and the Khams or Aro Tradition (*Khams/Aro'i lugs*) of Eastern Tibet.<sup>82</sup> Aro ye shes 'byung gnas was the eponymous founder of the Aro Tradition. The Zur clan were prominent holders of the Rong Tradition. Zur po che Śākya 'byung gnas set up an important early rNying ma temple and retreat centre at 'Ug pa lung.<sup>83</sup> Another important master in this lineage was Zhig po bdud rtsi (1149-1199) whose studies focused on the Mind Series, and who declared that he had practised only this series.<sup>84</sup> Thus it is clear that at least one conservative Mind Series lineage still flourished, despite the rising popularity of the Instruction Series, even in the late twelfth century.

### ***Mind Series Praxis***

In addition to its distinct textual sources and lineage, the Mind Series differs from the other two series in terms of praxis. The Space Series is associated with physical practices to harmonise the subtle psychic constituents of the body, and the Instruction Series with two special practices known as "Cutting through Rigidity" or "Breakthrough" (*Khregs chod*) and "All-surpassing Realisation" or "Leapover" (*Thod rgal*)<sup>85</sup>. One may ask, does the Mind Series have any characteristic practice as such?<sup>86</sup>

It does indeed, in what are known as the "Four Yogas" (*rnal 'byor bzhi*).<sup>87</sup> These consist of meditation to calm the mind, (*zhi gnas*), and meditation to develop clarity (*lhag mthong*). Beyond these two, the practice consists of training to remain in the state of pristine awareness for progressively longer. Eventually one realizes the third yoga, non-duality (*gnyis med*), and the fourth, spontaneous accomplishment (*lhun grub*).

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<sup>82</sup> See Dudjom 1991, pp. 617-700.

<sup>83</sup> On the importance of Zur 'ug pa lung for the early history of the rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum, see above p. 9.

<sup>84</sup> See Dudjom 1991, p. 654.

<sup>85</sup> As there is no established consensus on the English translation of these terms, I give here several alternatives.

<sup>86</sup> I am speaking here of the Mind Series as it has come down to the present day. I am not aware of any reference to these Four Yogas in the early Mind Series literature.

<sup>87</sup> On these, see Norbu & Clemente 1999, p. 63, and note 128.

The first two yogas, however, are not exclusive to rDzogs chen. They are in a sense preparatory to the actual, essential Mind Series practice of remaining in contemplation in the natural state of the mind. This contemplation, however, is very far from being the exclusive preserve of the Mind Series; it is fundamental to all Three Series. The essential practice of the Mind Series, therefore, is identical to the fundamental practice of rDzogs chen itself. This derives from (and points back to) the probable primacy of the Mind Series in the chronological development of rDzogs chen doctrines.

The Instruction Series began to eclipse the Mind Series from about the eleventh century. Increasingly it defined the identity of the other two series as inferior in relation to itself. Given its later date and the less than impartial attitude of its adherents, therefore, the delineations of the Mind Series that it has transmitted over the centuries are unlikely to match exactly those of the earliest *Sems phyogs* disseminators. Instead they present a partial, retrospective doxography of the Mind Series, with inevitable anachronistic distortions.

## *The Doctrinal Context*

In his ground-breaking work *The Great Perfection* (1988<sup>88</sup>), Karmay argued that rDzogs chen emerged during the eighth century from the then-prevalent Tantric practice of Mahāyoga.<sup>89</sup> It began as a third stage representing the culmination of the Perfection Stage (*rdzogs rim*), and gradually became an independent system. This theory was reiterated and elaborated by Germano in a 1994 article entitled *Architecture and Absence in the Secret Tantric History of the Great Perfection*.<sup>90</sup> Here Germano describes early rDzogs chen, represented by the Mind Series literature, as employing "negative rhetoric" toward Tantric contemplative techniques in order to carve out a space in which to define itself as an independent and superior vehicle.<sup>91</sup>

Both Karmay and Germano, then, pointed towards Mahāyoga as the major source of inspiration for early rDzogs chen. However, they also suggested two other sources of possible influence, Chinese Chan, and what Germano referred to as "unknown indigenous elements"<sup>92</sup>. In addition, Kvaerne suggested that Bon po rDzogs chen traditions<sup>93</sup> owed a debt to Buddhist and Śaivite adepts in the Western Tibetan region, then known as Zhang Zhung.<sup>94</sup>

The progressive digitization of Tibetan literature has made it much easier to access the various editions of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, our major source of early rDzogs chen texts.<sup>95</sup> This has greatly facilitated the ongoing work of investigating the earliest stratum of evidence. In addition, scholars such as Dalton

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<sup>88</sup> Karmay 1988, p. 138.

<sup>89</sup> Exemplified in particular by the *Guhyagarbha tantra*.

<sup>90</sup> Germano D. 1994, *passim*.

<sup>91</sup> Germano D. *op.cit.* p. 207.

<sup>92</sup> Germano *op.cit.* p. 205. He does not specify what such influences may have been.

<sup>93</sup> He was referring in particular to the Bon po rDzogs chen tradition known as the *Oral Lineage of Zhang zhung* (*zhang zhung snyan rgyud*) published as vol. 73 of the Śatapiṭaka series, New Delhi, 1968.

<sup>94</sup> Kvaerne 1972, p.38.

<sup>95</sup> One website that has been invaluable for the present research is the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre, established by the late Gene Smith, at [www.tbrc.org](http://www.tbrc.org)

and van Schaik have been able to situate early rDzogs chen in the wider doctrinal context through careful study of the tantric manuscripts from Dunhuang.<sup>96</sup>

I refer to their work below in the course of my discussion of the main strands of possible influence that shaped the early Great Perfection. Although for convenience I deal with these elements separately, the actual contemporary relationship between these traditions was probably one of dynamic mutual interaction and interdependence.

### ***The Question of non-Buddhist Influences on early rDzogs chen***

Tucci remarked on the shared importance of yoga in rDzogs chen and in Indian Śaivism. He commented further that rDzogs chen had a "lot of links with Śaivism".<sup>97</sup> I refer above<sup>98</sup> to the suggestion made by Per Kvaerne in 1972 (but not followed up with any evidence) that the Bon po rDzogs chen tradition owes a debt to Śaivite as well as Buddhist *siddhas* in the Western Tibetan area previously known as Zhang Zhung and in the neighbouring region of Kaśmir. My limited knowledge of Bon po rDzogs chen, a substantial field of study in itself, hinders me from gauging this hypothesis here. But what of the possibility that Kaśmiri Śaivism might have had a formative influence on Buddhist rDzogs chen?

Achard suggests<sup>99</sup> that certain elements of Śaivite yogic technique found in the *Vijñānabhairava tantra* have parallels in rDzogs chen. For example, he cites a passage in this Tantra describing how, after falling to the ground in a state of

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<sup>96</sup> See Dalton & van Schaik, 2006. The website of the International Dunhuang Project is at <http://idp.bl.uk/>

<sup>97</sup> Tucci, G. 1988, p. 123 n.1; p. 273. It must be said however that such "yogic" aspects of rDzogs chen are associated with the Space Series and the Instruction Series, both almost certainly later developments.

<sup>98</sup> See above p. 28

<sup>99</sup> Achard, J.L., 1999, pp. 248-253.

physical exhaustion, the abrupt cessation of agitation causes "the supreme condition" to appear. Achard compares this with the rDzogs chen preliminary practice known as *ru shan*, or "severance" in which the practitioner adopts the physical behaviour of the beings of the six Saṃsāric realms, running, jumping, and howling, up to the point of complete exhaustion.<sup>100</sup> There certainly seems to be a resemblance between these two practices.

On the other hand, we have no evidence that the *ru shan* practice predates its first written appearances in the texts of the Instruction Series. I have argued above<sup>101</sup> that there is no conclusive proof that this series predates the eleventh century. The same objection applies to the other interesting parallels Achard cites, such as contemplating a light source to observe visions, gazing at the sky, and applying pressure to the eyelids to induce visions.

We cannot reject altogether the possibility of contact with Śaivism. The names of some of the early rDzogs chen masters point to geographical proximity with areas where Śaivite cults existed. References to "the Kaśmiri abbot Rab snang" (*kha che'i mkhan po rab snang*) and "Bhāṣita the ṛṣi" (*drang srong Ba sha ti*) appear in one of the first lists of early rDzogs chen lineage masters. This list, in the *Man ngag bshad pa'i bshad thabs*, one of a series of exegetical works appended to the *sNying gi nyi ma*<sup>102</sup> hints at a mixed milieu of non-Buddhist and Buddhist teachers and teachings.<sup>103</sup> The history of Vairocana in this text was probably a

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<sup>100</sup> Achard, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

<sup>101</sup> See above p.18

<sup>102</sup> Kapstein notes that the *sNying gi nyi ma* was probably in existence before the twelfth century. The lineage list is on VGB vol. 1, p. 138. However I concur with Wilkinson who points out that the *sNying gi nyi ma* concludes on VGB vol. 1, p. 104, not on p. 172 as assumed by Kapstein. The volume index numbering must be in error in this respect. The lineage list is therefore contained not in the *sNying gi nyi ma* but in the *Man ngag bshad pa'i bsdhad thabs*, also called *Sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa thams cad dang yon tan 'bad med lhun grub du bstan pa* in its colophon (p. 172.3), one of the texts that follow the *sNying gi nyi ma*. See Kapstein, 2008, p. 279; Wilkinson, 2012, p. 43 and n. 62.

<sup>103</sup> See also Kunsang, 2006, pp. 67, 69, 102, 105.

precursor to the *'Dra bag chen mo*, which refers to Vimalamitra on one occasion as "the Kaśmiri Paṇḍita Vimalamitra."<sup>104</sup>

Ruegg has examined early interactions between Buddhist and non-Buddhists in the Himalayan region.<sup>105</sup> He notes the distinction between non-Buddhist “mundane” or “worldly” (*'jigs rten pa/laukika*) spiritual entities and “supramundane” (*'jig rten las 'das pa/lokottara*) Buddhist ones. Originally non-Buddhist “worldly” deities and spirits such as nāgas were often subsumed into the domain of Buddhism, and sometimes even promoted to the supramundane category.

A passage in the *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*, by gNyan dpal dbyangs, suggests that at least some rDzogs chen practitioners continued to be devotees of “mundane” deities:

To worship mundane gods and nāgas,  
Despite making vows to Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva,  
Is like a king conducting himself as though he were a commoner –  
It does not fit the circumstances, and contradicts the aim of Yoga.<sup>106</sup>

Moreover, Gray recently documented the incorporation of modified Śaivite elements into the Buddhist Yoginī tantras.<sup>107</sup> It is therefore possible, at least in principle, that the same or a similar cultural context could have seen the appropriation of certain Śaivite and other non-Buddhist elements by practitioners later regarded as the first teachers of rDzogs chen.

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<sup>104</sup> Palmo, 2004, p. 224.

<sup>105</sup> Ruegg 2007, p. 41 and following.

<sup>106</sup> *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*, Q. 36: *kun bzang rdo rje sems par khas 'ches la/ 'jig rten lha klu dag la yar mchod pa/ rgyal po dmangs kyi spyod pa byed pa bzhin/ rkyen du myi 'tsham rnal 'byor don dang 'gal/* The translation of this passage is from Takahashi, 2010, p. 88.,

<sup>107</sup> The yoginī tantras are a category of tantra that began to be popular in India no later than the mid eighth century, and that includes the Cakrasamvaratantra. See Gray, 2005.



## *rDzogs chen and Chan*

In the legendary bSam yas debate<sup>108</sup>, said to have taken place in the mid-eighth century, adherents of the Indian Madhyamaka system defeated proponents of Chinese Chan. After that, Chan was supposedly banished from Tibet. However, modern scholarship has cast doubt on whether such a debate, in the form of a one-off event, ever took place.<sup>109</sup> Although it appears that Indian Buddhism did eventually emerge victorious from the contest, the historical evidence now seems to point to the eclipse of Chan as having been a much more gradual and complex process. Numerous Chan manuscripts, dating probably from the tenth century, are among the Chinese and Tibetan documents from Dunhuang. Pelliot Chinois 4646 presents a more favourable outcome to the controversy with regard to Chan, and includes an edict from the Tibetan emperor supporting it.<sup>110</sup> IOL Tib. J. 709 includes a text simply called "the Chan document" (*bsam gtan gi yi ge*)<sup>111</sup> which declares at the beginning that it bears the "neck-seal" (*mgur phyag*) of the Tibetan emperor.<sup>112</sup>

Furthermore, at the turn of the tenth century, one of the main aims of gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in writing his *bSam gtan mig sgron* was to dispel confusion caused by apparent similarities between rDzogs chen and Chan by carefully distinguishing the two. He states, at the end of the chapter on Chan, that he gives such a detailed account because of "misgivings concerning certain deviations [in

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<sup>108</sup> The earliest extant source for the debate is the *sBa bzhed /dBa' bzhed*, translated in Wangdu and Diemberger, 2000, 76-88.

<sup>109</sup> See Seyfort Rugg, 1992. See also Imaeda Yoshiro, 1975.

<sup>110</sup> This account is discussed and translated into French in Demieville 1952, Le Concile de Lhasa.

<sup>111</sup> This title also exactly matches one in the early ninth century *Ldan* (or *Lhan*) *dkar* catalogue. However, the whole section in which it is found is also called *bsam gtan gi yi ge* and as it mostly consists of works by Indian authors (including Kamalaśīla, Hvasang Mahāyāna's chief opponent in the so-called debate), on the stages of meditation, it must have also signified the general genre of writings on *dhyāna*.

<sup>112</sup> IOL Tib J 709 f. 43r. Although there is no such seal attached to the document, presumably the original from which it was copied bore one.

understanding] arising from the similarity of the *sTon mun* [Chan] and the Great Perfection.”<sup>113</sup>

In a dialogue at the end of Chapter Seven, a practitioner of Atiyoga claims superiority over one of Chan. The Chan practitioner asks first: “Since all phenomena [are] in the primordially-unborn state of emptiness, where the two truths do not exist, I further assert the principle of no seeking, accomplishment, hope or fear. What principle is higher than this?”<sup>114</sup> The Atiyoga practitioner responds: “Although the state of non-duality, empty and unborn, is free of action, you have not seen or even heard of the non-dual, action-free state.”<sup>115</sup> Thus gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes regarded the Chan emphasis on the need for meditation practice as inferior to the rDzogs chen approach of total freedom from action (*bya bral*).

This differs from the way in which later rDzogs chen writers distinguished the two traditions. This difference derives from the fact that they compared the rDzogs chen doctrines of their own time to the Chan presented by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes. For example, according to Reynolds, Dudjom Rinpoche stated that Chan emphasizes emptiness, whereas rDzogs chen places an equal emphasis on emptiness and luminous clarity: “In fact, in the state of contemplation, emptiness and clarity are inseparable (*gsal stong dbyer med*). Chan does not speak of matters in this way.” This, he says, is because Chan is derived from the sūtras, where emptiness is the supreme realisation, but rDzogs chen arises from the Tantra system, “which equally deals with the side of manifestation or luminous clarity

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<sup>113</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron*, 186.2: *ston mun dang / rdzogs (186.3) chen <lta spyod kun /> cha 'dra bas gol du dogs pa'i phyir* / The text in parenthesis is a note that translates as “the entire view and conduct” [of rDzogs chen].

<sup>114</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron*, 492.2: *chos thams cad ye nas ma skyes stong pa'i ngang la bden pa gnyis med pas / rtsol sgrub dang re dogs med (492.3) pa'i don nga yang 'dod de / de las / 'phags pa'i don ga la yod*.

<sup>115</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron*, 493.3-4: *stong dang ma skyes gnyis med bya bral yang / gnyis med bya bral ma mthong thos pa'ang med*.

(*gsal cha*)”<sup>116</sup>. Reynolds explains that the latter aspect includes transformations of energy, visualizations, and “photic phenomena.”

By “photic phenomena” Reynolds presumably refers to the light-based practices of the Instruction Series such as *thod rgal*. Such methods are likely to post-date the Mind Series.<sup>117</sup> Dudjom Rinpoche’s criticism<sup>118</sup> of Chan for its supposed bias towards emptiness is, in fact, strikingly similar to his (and other proponents’ of the Instruction Series) reservations concerning the Mind Series.

Such similarity between early rDzogs chen and Chan must underlie the New Schools’ persistent claim that rDzogs chen was a relict form of Chan. The consequent polemical literature presents rDzogs chen in the forms it took from the eleventh century onwards. This has tended to obscure rather than clarify what was actually happening in the eighth to late tenth century.

In the mid-twentieth century, Tucci reiterated the New Schools’ accusation that rDzogs chen was a form of Chan. However, Karmay subsequently showed that this view<sup>119</sup> was based on a misinterpretation of the evidence of the pro-Chan sections of the fourteenth century *blon po bka’i thang yig*. Karmay demonstrated conclusively that these sections were lifted (and heavily reworked, to the point of distortion) from the *bSam gtan mig sgron*. The latter, in contrast, aimed to demonstrate the differences between rDzogs chen and Chan.<sup>120</sup>

Contemporary outsiders observing the two lineages were probably struck by superficial similarities in meditation style and discourse. gNubs chen himself admits that their terminology was in agreement.<sup>121</sup> These included a shared emphasis on experiential realization as transcending mere intellectual

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<sup>116</sup> Dudjom Rinpoche, oral communication summarised in Reynolds, 1996, p.223 /4.

<sup>117</sup> See, however, my remarks above on possible elements prefiguring *thod rgal* practice in several of the Thirteen Later Translations, p.19.

<sup>118</sup> Assuming that this is an accurate report of Dudjom Rinpoche’s views.

<sup>119</sup> Tucci 1978, 374 ff.

<sup>120</sup> Karmay 1988 p.89-99; also van Schaik 2012, pp. 15, 16.

<sup>121</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron*, 490.4: *ston mun ni rdzogs chen dang skad mthun /*

understanding, and in particular the important notion of "non-thought".<sup>122</sup> Such concepts derive from the *Tathāgatagarbha* tradition of the Sūtras, which constitutes a part of the doctrinal substratum common to both traditions. For example, when discussing the view of Chan, the *bSam gtan mig sgron* quotes the following passage from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*:

Since that which is called the quintessence of enlightenment is not contrived, it is the quintessence of thinking. Since it liberates from effort, it is the quintessence of union.<sup>123</sup>

gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes quotes a key passage from the *sPyi chings* which makes it clear that there were some who viewed themselves as practising rDzogs chen, but who were regarded by others as merely practising "the *samādhi* of the instantaneous approach", that is, Chan meditation:

Claiming that it is the unsurpassed Great Perfection, sons of the Victorious ones who then rely merely on the *samādhi* of the instantaneous approach violate the precepts by assuming the status of commoners.<sup>124</sup>

This eclectic approach may have been what Sakya Paṇḍita, in the thirteenth century, had in mind when he criticized sūtra Mahāmudra for being like "rDzogs chen of the Chinese tradition" (*rgya'i lugs rdzogs chen*).<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> For a discussion of the limited usefulness of such comparisons on the basis of terminology, see van Schaik, 2012, pp. 7-11.

<sup>123</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron* p. 137.4: *byang chub kyi snying po zhes bya ba de ni bcos ma ma yin pa'i phyir bsam pa'i snying po'o / rtsol ba las bsgral ba'i phyir de ni sbyor (137.5) ba'i snying po'o*.

<sup>124</sup> *sPyi bcings*, extracted from *sPyi gsang sngags lung gi 'grel pa gnyags dza nya ku ma ras mdzad pa* (KSG Vol. 103 p. 474.3-4 : *rdzogs chen bla na med par khas 'ches nas / ton mun bsam gtan tsam la rten 'cha ba / rgyal ba'i sras 'bangs bcas pas lung dang 'gal* / This passage is also quoted in the STMG, p. 311.5-6, which is the version quoted in Karmay 1988, p. 112. It bears a striking similarity to the *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan* passage cited above (p. 24).

<sup>125</sup> Rhoton, 2002, p. 118.

As the *sPyi chings* passage testifies, there was clearly a degree of disagreement in the period leading up to the composition of the *bSam gtan mig sgron* over what, precisely, constituted rDzogs chen practice and what did not. This presumably was what spurred gNubs chen to attempt to clarify and define it.

Several of the Thirteen Later Translations<sup>126</sup> contain hints of criticism and a desire to draw the line between rDzogs chen and Chan. This is most apparent in the *sPyi chings*. This text criticises sūtra-based meditation, its inappropriate application to tantric practice, and what it regards as the limited view of Emptiness to which such meditation leads. If the *bKa' ma* commentary on this text was actually written, as it claims, by gNyags Jñānakumara, then the following passage from it can be taken as representing an authoritative ninth century view on this matter:

When the supreme vehicle that teaches in this way and the *samādhi* of the sūtra section are mixed, the meditation and conduct [are like this] - they destroy the power of the mantra[yāna] and have the fault of seeking the view and conduct of the sūtra section. If gum is mixed into butter, as well as the gum's strength being damaged, the butter's colour is also damaged, so it is wrong for both.<sup>127</sup>

There is evidence that such "mixing" of different systems took place, at least in one area, in several of the Dunhuang documents. Due to its syncretic<sup>128</sup> nature, scholars have disagreed about whether Dunhuang manuscript PT 699 is a Mahāyoga or a rDzogs chen commentary on a text ascribed to the Chan patriarch

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<sup>126</sup> For example, the *Thig le drug pa* stresses that rDzogs chen transcends both thought and non-thought. The *sGom pa don sgrub* declares that the true nature of thought is the *Dharmatā*-knowing this, there is no need for antidotes or suppressing (thoughts).

<sup>127</sup> *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, vol. 103, *sPyi gsang sngags lung gi 'grel pa*, p. 471. 6 : *de ltar bstan pa'i theg pa'i mchog dang/ mdo sde'i bsam gtan bsres te bsgoms shing spyad pa ni/ sngags kyi nus* [p. 472] *mthu nyams shing/ mdo sde'i lta spyod 'tshol pa'i nyes pa yod pa'i phyir/ mar dang spyin du bsres pas/ spyin gyi stobs kyang nyams la/ mar gyi mdog kyang nyams te gnyis ka ma rung ngo/*

<sup>128</sup> I use the term "syncretic" for convenience here, although its implication of the mixing of two distinct and sharply-defined traditions does not apply here. van Schaik describes the situation as one of "convergence", a more appropriate term in my view.

Bodhidharma.<sup>129</sup> In my view, PT 699 is primarily a Mahāyoga work. The reference to Atiyoga in its colophon describing three kinds of teachers does not imply that the text's author considered himself to be an Atiyoga teacher, or his commentary to be a rDzogs chen text.<sup>130</sup>

PT 699 was written by the same scribe who penned two other syncretic Dunhuang manuscripts, PT 626 and PT 634. These are commentaries on a Mahāyoga ritual text concerned with the Mahāyoga Three *Samādhi* structure. The two also employ Chan terminology: in their discussion of the first *samādhi*, the *Samādhi* of Suchness, (*de bzhin nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin*) they refer to the (Chan) technique of "viewing the mind" (*sems la lta*) in order to establish mind's emptiness.<sup>131</sup>

There is a further passage in the *sPyi chings* which discloses a similar context of Chan technique applied to the First *Samādhi* of Mahāyoga<sup>132</sup>:

The [*samādhi* of] Suchness [encompasses] the Causal and the [All]-illuminating [*samādhis*]. As for those who state that Suchness [is] the deity meditation: in the view of those who have not studied the great [oral] statements and are not learned, although the Suchness that they describe [as] the stage of meditating on the deity may seem to correspond to *samādhi*, the mantra[yāna] precepts [teach that it] leads to the Meditation of the Gods. [There are] two fears: that *samādhi* will hinder [future] rebirths, [and] that, even if one cleanses the mind-stream through the absence of thought and remains in the three isolations, some slight thought may arise.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Meinert, 2007, p. 241; van Schaik & Dalton, 2004, p. 65.

<sup>130</sup> *Op. cit.* p.65

<sup>131</sup> *Op.cit.* p.66.

<sup>132</sup> van Schaik 2012, pp. 12-14, discusses extensively the Dunhuang evidence for Chan technique applied to the practice of Mahāyoga.

<sup>133</sup> *sPyi gsang sngags lung gi 'grel pa (Spyi chings)*, 454.6–456.5: *sngags gol ba ni gang zhe na / de bzhin nyid ni rgyu dang snang / [454.6-455.1]lha bsgom pa'i rim pa smos pa'i de bzhin nyid ni / [455.3]lung chen po ma thos zhing / mi mkhas pas bltas na / bsam gtan dang cha mthun par 'dra na yang / [456.1-2]de ni sngags kyi lung lha'i ting nge 'dzin du 'gro ba dang / 456.4-5]bsam gtan ni tshe rabs kyi bgags / rnam par mi rtog pas rgyud sbyang zhing dgon pa gsum la gnas te / cung zad kyang rtog pa 'byung du dogs pa gnyis /*

This passage addresses the dangers of practicing the first *samādhi*, in particular, without receiving instruction in the relevant Tantric precepts. What follows in the *sPyi chings* warns that if one practises just this *samādhi* of Suchness without integrating it with the Causal and All-illuminating *samādhi*, one risks becoming locked into a state of absorption. The rNying ma tradition describes this “meditation of the gods” as a state of mental blankness which can last for a very long time, leading to the exhaustion of one’s positive karma.<sup>134</sup> Alternatively, even if one accomplishes mental purification through the first *samādhi*, one is always subtly striving to avoid thought.

Furthermore, the *sPyi chings* refers to what it calls “three statements of esoteric instruction,” which it describes as follows: “the first gives a clear idea, the second gives understanding, and through the third, one will have properly understood the meaning.”<sup>135</sup> The text adds: “Those three, moreover, [are] a single state; the uncontrived [state] in which resides the Great Perfection that is spontaneously-accomplished. Apart from this, there is no other state beyond concepts.”<sup>136</sup> The *bka’ ma* commentary in which this text is embedded treats these as concerned with the Three *Samādhis*.<sup>137</sup>

The title I translate as the “three statements of esoteric instruction” (*man ngag gsum*) occurs also as the name of a Chan teaching. Dunhuang text PT 699 refers

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<sup>134</sup> For example, dPa’ sprul Rin po che states: “The long-lived gods are those who are absorbed in a state of mental blankness. Beings are reborn in this realm as a result of believing that liberation is a state in which all mental activities, good or bad, are absent, and of meditating upon that state. They remain in such states of concentration for great kalpas on end. But once the effect of the past actions that produced that condition has exhausted itself they are reborn in the lower realms because of their wrong views.” See Patrul Rinpoche, (trans. Padmakara Translation Group) 1996, p. 21.

<sup>135</sup> *sPyi gsang sngags lung gi’grel pa* (*Spyi chings*), 477.3-4: *man ngag tshig gsum pa gcig gis ni ’phrigs / gnyis kyis ni go / gsum gyis ni legs par brda’ phrad*.

<sup>136</sup> *sPyi gsang sngags lung gi’grel pa* (*Spyi chings*), 479.1: *’di gsum yang gcig gi ngang ste / ma bcos par bzhugs pa yi / lhun gyis rdzogs pa chen po’o / de las la bzlar med do*.

<sup>137</sup> The precepts themselves are not in the *sPyi chings* or the commentary. It is possible, therefore that they refer not to the Three *Samādhis* but to some other theme. The title *Man ngag gsum* bears an interesting resemblance to the *Man ngag tshig gsum gnad brdeg*s attributed by tradition to dGa’ rab rdo rje.

to a set of three particular precepts as: non-mind (*mi sems*), non mindfulness (*mi dran*) and illusoriness (*sgyu ma*). We can perhaps infer that the idea of an essentialized teaching in three statements was common to both Chan and rDzogs chen in this period.

As well as textual evidence of doctrinal syncretism, biographies of several early rDzogs chen masters show their eclectic openness towards Chan. Probably the most striking is the account in the *Bairo 'dra bag* of Vairocana's visit to China from his place of exile in Tsha ba rong. This lengthy passage recounts how he received teachings from no less than nineteen Chinese masters (including several female teachers).<sup>138</sup>

In addition, Aro ye shes byung gnas in the first half of the eleventh century held two lineages. One was of rDzogs chen teachings transmitted through seven generations of Indian teachers, and the other was teachings transmitted through a lineage of seven Chinese teachers.<sup>139</sup> Sog zlog pa stated that the Chinese lineage was not of Chan, but of rDzogs chen, but Ka' thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu, in contrast, considered them to be Chan.<sup>140</sup> This uncertainty probably indicates that Ye shes byung gnas represented the kind of eclectic tradition described above.<sup>141</sup> Such convergent traditions withered in the later eleventh century in the face of the New Schools' dogma that only teachings directly derived from Indic sources were to be regarded as authentic.

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<sup>138</sup> Translation in Palmo 2004, p. 195-207. This semi-legendary episode parallels the tale of a similar journey to China to seek teachings by a member of the sBa clan, also related in the *sBa bzhed*.

<sup>139</sup> Karmay 1988, p. 93 n. 42. Also van Schaik, 2012, p. 16, n. 39.

<sup>140</sup> Karmay, *loc. cit.*

<sup>141</sup> Born in east Tibet (Khams), Aro ye shes byung gnas' rDzogs chen tradition was known as the *Khams lugs* (Kham tradition). It was one of several distinct Mind Series lineages that existed in the eleventh and twelfth century, the other main one being that of Rong (in central Tibet, associated with Rong zom chos kyi bzang po). See Dudjom, 1991, pp. 650-685; 688-200.



## *rdzogs chen and Mahāyoga*

Germano (1994) pointed out a scattering of occurrence of the term *rdzogs chen* in the Guhyagarbha tantra.<sup>142</sup> Although we have no evidence of the precise Indic term that *rdzogs chen* translates, it is clear that it was in use to some extent in eighth-century India as a technical term for higher Perfection Stage yogic states. Germano believed the stage of the Great Perfection described simply a technique-free "natural" immersion in a non-conceptual state<sup>143</sup> that was experienced more and more regularly by meditators as their practice continued to advance, and that eventually, this led to a new triple classification of Mahāyoga practice into Generation, Perfection, and Great Perfection Stages.

Indeed, the *Dvikramatattvabhāvanā-mukhāgama* contains an allusion to such a non-conceptual state. This work is ascribed to Buddhajñānapada and dates to the first quarter of the ninth century. At the end of a passage explicitly setting forth instructions for sexual yoga it says: "In an instant consciousness is made to flicker. That is the great evocation."<sup>144</sup>

Apart from this Mahāyoga-derived tradition of the Great Perfection, Germano contends that the Mind Series originated as "a separate and independent movement of unspecified origins". He speculates that these origins may have included "unknown indigenous influences, perhaps including heterodox Buddhist movements circulating in Tibet prior to the late eighth century."<sup>145</sup> Characterising

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<sup>142</sup> Germano, 1994, p. 223. Germano also notes that Dudjom (1991, p. 313) cites from two tantric works of the *spyi dar* which use the term *rdzogs chen* to denote the second stage of the Perfection Phase.

<sup>143</sup> Germano, 1994, p. 223.

<sup>144</sup> *skad cig dran med g.yo bar byed /sgrub pa chen po de nyid do*; Mukhāgama 7b. 2-6, cited in Dalton 2004, p. 13.

<sup>145</sup> Germano, 1994, p. 218.

this as “pristine” Great Perfection, he argues that it later merged with the Mahāyoga-derived tradition in Tibet.<sup>146</sup> However, no evidence has yet emerged to confirm this theory.<sup>147</sup>

Dalton more recently put forward an alternative hypothesis<sup>148</sup> drawn from his extensive work on the Dunhuang documents. He argues that the Great Perfection, as the third stage of tantric practice, took a specific ritual form. This rite involved the bestowal of the practitioner's seminal fluid at the culmination of sexual yoga (*sbyor ba*).<sup>149</sup>

The *Guhyagarbha tantra* offers corroboration of this theory. Of the four references to *rdzogs chen* that occur here, two of them describe it as a "sacrament" (Skt. *samaya*; Tib. *dam tshigs*).<sup>150</sup> As further evidence, Dalton also cites several Dunhuang ritual manuals including IOL Tib J. 437, which, in describing the supreme sacrament, reads:

This elixir of the Great Perfection, the mind of the great lord himself, an excellent medicinal offering beyond birth and death, is offered as a wish-fulfilling treasury.<sup>151</sup>

Dalton believes that this association of the Great Perfection with the Supreme Sacrament was brief. Even so, many of the very earliest references to it reflect it.<sup>152</sup> It was also used more broadly to denote the highest state of realization gained through tantric practice. The presence of this rite at the end of the perfection stage gradually dwindled over the late ninth and early tenth

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<sup>146</sup> Germano, 1994, p. 215.

<sup>147</sup> The idea was first put forward by Kvaerne, 1972, pp. 38, 40, in relation to Bon po rDzogs chen, and specifically the Oral Tradition from Zhang zhung (*Zhang zhung snyan brgyud*).

<sup>148</sup> See Dalton 2004, *passim*.

<sup>149</sup> Dalton 2004, p. 17

<sup>150</sup> Dalton 2004, p. 18.

<sup>151</sup> IOL Tib J 437.13v.1: *rdzogs cen (sic) bdag nyid chen po thugs kyi bcud/ skye shi myed pa'i sman mchod dam pa 'di/ thugs dam bskang pa'i dbyig du dbul*. Cited and translated in Dalton 2004, p. 17.

<sup>152</sup> Dalton 2004, p.18

centuries.<sup>153</sup> In this same period the Great Perfection was increasingly seen as a yoga in its own right, hence its appellation "atiyoga."<sup>154</sup> It came more and more to interpret Mahāyoga practice within its own evolving philosophical framework.

I believe that the *Rig pa'i khu byug* (IOL Tib J 647) reveals two stages of this process at work. In addition to the root text, the Dunhuang manuscript also contains a commentary, itself in two parts. The second commentary section refers to common tantric terms, but with new, more abstract definitions. For example, it redefines "great bliss" (Skt. *mahāsukha*; Tib. *bde ba chen po*), or physical ecstasy experienced in the Mahāyoga sexual practice of *sbyor ba*, as "the embodiment of the experience of the taste of Suchness"<sup>155</sup>. Salutation or homage "signifies remaining in the vast expanse of that state" (i.e. of Suchness)<sup>156</sup>.

This part of the text gives physical aspects of Mahāyoga a new, non-conceptual twist, but still firmly in relation to the practice of *sbyor ba*. For example, it describes the "great inner nectar" as "the power to voluntarily let go of all ideas of important or not important, since it is the sacred method for taking enlightenment that has not [yet] been taken"<sup>157</sup>. The practice of Union is abstracted from the physical level and one is said to be in continuous union "with the Queen of consorts" when one is in "the sphere free from combining or separating".<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Dalton 2004, p. 25.

<sup>154</sup> Sam van Schaik, tracing the use of the term *Atiyoga*, notes possibly the earliest appearance of it in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga tantra*: "through *Atiyoga* the true nature is fully experienced". van Schaik 2004, pp. 180-181.

<sup>155</sup> IOL Tib J 647 Fol. 2 a, l. 5 *ji bzhin pa'i ro myong ba'i bdag nyid*

<sup>156</sup> IOL Tib J 647 Fol. 2 a, l. 5: *de'i klung [klong] du ngang gis gnas pa*. The method or way to do this is shown in the verses that follow. In other words, the purpose of the text is said to be to show how to remain in the state of Suchness.

<sup>157</sup> IOL Tib J 647.3b.3: *gces myi gces kyi mtshan ma thams cad gtong bar dang du len par nus pa ni/ nang gi bdud rtsi chen po zhes bya ste/ myi len pa'i byang chub len pa'i thabs*. The word "taken" (*len*) here, presumably an allusion to the consumption of seminal fluid, sits awkwardly with the new interpretation of *bodhicitta*, but might have been necessary to make the meaning clear enough for those who were familiar with the practice of *rdzogs chen* as the third stage of Mahāyoga.

<sup>158</sup> IOL Tib J 647 fol. 4a, l.1 *sbyor ba ni 'du 'bral myed pa'i dbyings la bya ste /'du bral gyi mying yang myed pas /gzungs kyi rgyal mo dang rgyun myi 'chad par sbyor ro*.

In other words, this second commentary section focuses on general tantric themes, recasting Mahāyoga practice in the framework of the Great Perfection. By contrast, the first part of the commentary is a word-by-word exposition of the root text. It refers to rDzogs chen as "the Vehicle of non-duality", whereas the second part refers to it as merely the "way" or "method (*tshul*) of Samantabhadra."<sup>159</sup> I consider it possible that the second part of the commentary reflects an earlier stage in the development of rDzogs chen, a point when it had not yet established itself as sufficiently independent from Mahāyoga to claim the higher status of a Vehicle.

Alternatively, if not earlier in composition, the second part may have been intended for a different audience. Presumably this was one still more familiar with rDzogs chen as the third stage of Mahāyoga practice.

At any rate, we find in one and the same commentary a section of the type that Germano would class as "pristine"<sup>160</sup> alongside another that he would assign to a different tradition, namely that which stems from the culmination of the Perfection Stage of Mahāyoga. I believe this illustrates that these two were not separate traditions but co-existent factors that both contributed to the character of early rDzogs chen.<sup>161</sup>

Turning to the Thirteen Later Translations themselves, two of the texts' titles actually include the term "bliss" (*bde ba*), the *bDe ba phra bkod* and the *bDe 'byams*. These two texts emphasize that the Union (*sbyor ba*) of the Great Perfection is the primordial, indivisible union of all beings with the state of the mind of enlightenment. One only needs to realize this state, not to bring it about, since it is spontaneously-present (*lhun grub*). There is, therefore, no need to

<sup>159</sup> IOL Tib J 647 fol. 3b, l.3 *dpal kun du bzang po bde ba chen po rdzogs pa'i tshul*.

<sup>160</sup> By this Germano denotes a form of rDzogs chen that he regards as untainted by Tantric techniques such as *sbyor ba* and *grol ba*. He considers such Tantric elements in rDzogs chen to be a later development.

<sup>161</sup> On the co-evolution of these two kinds of text, see also van Schaik 2004, p. 194.

practice any kind of formal meditation, since "the elixir of awareness" arises as clear light in oneself.<sup>162</sup> The same themes are also common in other texts of the Thirteen, notably the *rJe btsan dam pa*, *Yid bzhin nor bu*, *Srog gi 'khor lo*, and *rTse mo byung rgyal*. For example, the *rTse mo byung rgyal* declares:

[Fundamental] union is the expanse of Samantabhadra himself. The great, completely pure path [is] the mind whose goal is total liberation. The Great Perfection path of total liberation, in which there is no path to follow, [is] the expanse of reality<sup>163</sup>, uncreated, spontaneously perfect, with no [need] to do anything.<sup>164</sup>

This is how the same text describes the non-dual state of the Dharmadhātu:

The dynamic potency<sup>165</sup> without accomplishment is spontaneously perfect Buddhahood, without aspiration or need to act.<sup>166</sup>

and also:

The essence of *bodhicitta* is the special knowledge that diversity - which is not something concrete - is the Dharmadhātu. That is the doctrine of

<sup>162</sup> *bDe ba phra bkod*, fol. 312r. 7: *skye med dbyings nas rig pa'i bcud shar* (fol. 312 v.) *ba'o / dngos po kun dang bral bas snang ba rang shar ba'o / gzung 'dzin rnam rtog bral bas bde ba rang la shar*.

<sup>163</sup> VGB has "the state /level of bliss" (*bde ba'i sa*), in place of "the expanse of reality" (*chos kyi dbyings*) here.

<sup>164</sup> *rTse mo byung rgyal* fol. 304 r.2: *mnyam sbyor kun tu bzang po nyid kyi dbyings / rnam dag lam chen kun sgrol dgongs pa'i thugs/ bgrod med rnam grol rdzogs pa chen po'i lam / byar med / (l.3) lhun rdzogs skye med chos kyi dbyings*.

<sup>165</sup> "Dynamic potency" (*rtsal sprugs*) is similar to the title of one of the Five Earlier Translations, the *Great Dynamic Potency* (*rtsal chen sprugs pa*). On the technical meaning of the term *rtsal* in rDzogs chen, see Norbu, 2000, p. 170.

<sup>166</sup> *rTse mo byung rgyal*, fol. 305v.7: *bsgrub med rtсал sprugs smon pa med pa yi / bya med lhun rdzogs bde (l.7) gshegs de bzhin te*.

spontaneous union with pure primordial wisdom, of the Yogins of the Great Perfection who realize the meaning of the non-dual.<sup>167</sup>

Furthermore, the contrast between three different versions of one line in this text may illustrate a historical trend towards removal and/or abstraction of terms denoting *sbyor ba* as a physical practice.<sup>168</sup> The *Bairo rgyud 'bum* version, possibly the oldest, reads:

Also, the manifest clarity in the essential drop [of] the practice of union dissolves into the supreme Dharmakāya, the essence of enlightenment.<sup>169</sup>

mTshams brag and gTing skyes instead read:

[It] dissolves into the supreme Dharmakāya, the essence of enlightenment that manifests from the clarity of satisfaction [in] the practice of union.<sup>170</sup>

Finally, the sDe dge and *bKa' ma* version is:

[It] dissolves into the supreme Dharmakāya, the essence of enlightenment that does *not* [my italics] manifest from the clarity of dissolution in the practice of union.<sup>171</sup>

As I point out in the notes to my translation<sup>172</sup>, mTshams brag and gTing skyes replace the term I translate in this context as "essential drop" (*thig le*) with the less

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<sup>167</sup> *rTse mo byung rgyal*, fol.306v.6: *gang yang ma yin sna tshogs chos kyi dbyings/shes pa'i khyad par byang chub snying po ni / gnyis med don rtogs rdzogs chen rnal 'byor pa / ye shes rnam dag lhun sbyor grub pa'i mtha'.*

<sup>168</sup> This is a good example of the usefulness of collating and editing the texts.

<sup>169</sup> *rTse mo byung rgyal* fol. 308v.3 (Vairo rgyud 'bum): *mnyam sbyor thig ler mngon du gsal ba yang / chos kyi sku mchog byang chub snying por thim.*

<sup>170</sup> *rTse mo byung rgyal* fol. 308v.3 (mTshams brag and gTing skyes): *mnyam sbyor tshim 'gyur gsal nas mngon pa yi / chos kyi sku mchog byang chub snying por thim.*

<sup>171</sup> *rTse mo byung rgyal* fol. 308v.3 (sDe dge and bKa'ma): *mnyam sbyor thim 'gyur gsal nas mi mngon pa'i / chos kyi sku mchog byang chub snying por thim.*

<sup>172</sup> See below, n. 831.

explicit "satisfaction" (*tshim 'gyur*). In the *bKa' ma* and *sDe dge* this becomes "dissolution" (*thim 'gyur*). They also negate the other versions' statement regarding manifestation, despite the awkward repetition of the word "dissolve /dissolution" (*thim*) that this leads to at the end of the next line. Thus, the three versions of this one line, quite possibly, encapsulate the gradual movement of rDzogs chen away from the Mahāyoga third phase practice of physical sexual Union, to the point where, in later years, its connection with it was almost totally obscured.

In my view these citations lend support to the theory, advanced by Dalton and others, that rDzogs chen derived largely (though not exclusively) from the Mahāyoga Perfection Stage. While it began as an interpretive framework in which to view - and express - the yogic state of realization experienced by its adepts, eventually it achieved the status of an independent tradition.

## ***The Literary Context: Key Related Texts***

### ***The Five Earlier Translations (sNga 'gyur lnga)***

This group of five texts is closely linked to the Thirteen Later Translations. Both groups are subsumed under the rubric of the Eighteen Major Scriptures of the Mind Series (*sems sde lung chen po bco brgyad*). The biography of the Tibetan master Vairocana recounts how this rubric came into being in India after Vairocana had received these teachings and returned to Tibet:

The paṇḍitas and the king then compiled the commonly known Eighteen Major Scriptures of the Mind Class into one, and compiled the sixty tantra sections as esoteric instructions. The king said, ‘Conceal them as treasures in Bodhgaya,’ and it is said that they were hidden there. Another version has it that these teachings were hidden at Vulture Peak Mountain, and elsewhere it is said that they were hidden in the Asura Cave.<sup>173</sup> The king sent copies of the books to a place where they vanished without a trace; like putting a jewel into the throat of a crocodile, they were hidden as treasures until the end of the aeon.<sup>174</sup>

The narrative implies that the compilation occurred in reaction to the Indians’ dismay at the disclosure of these teachings to Vairocana. He had received them from the master Śrī

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<sup>173</sup> For discussion of further, similar efforts to account for the absence of Indian rDzogs chen texts refer to the section below on the question of Sanskrit originals, p. 141.

<sup>174</sup> Vairo rgyud ‘bum vol. 8, p. 544.3: *pa ndi ta dang rgyal po thun mong du grags pa/ sems sde bco brgyad gcig tu byas/ rgyud sde drug bcu tham pa man ngag du bcas pa ni rgyal pos rdo rje gdan du gter kha sbos nas rdo rje gdan du sbas kyang zer/bya rgod phung por sbas sam yang zer/ a su ra’i brag phug du sbas sam yang zer/ dpe phyi mo rnams rgyal pos gar song cha med par btang ste chu srin gyi gre bar rin po che tshud pa ’dra bskal pa’i mthar gter du sbas so*. Translation as given in Palmo, 2004, p. 149.



Siṃha<sup>175</sup> in conditions of great secrecy, where they were "written in the milk of white goats on white silk".<sup>176</sup> Tradition holds that Vairocana then translated the Five Earlier Translations after returning to the Tibetan royal court.

Klong chen pa lists the Five Earlier Translations as follows:

- *Rig pa'i khu byug*
- *rTsal chen sprugs pa*
- *Khyung chen lding ba*
- *rDo la gser zhun*
- *Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan [rdo rje sems dpa'] nam mkha' che*<sup>177</sup>

Not only because of their close doxographical relationship but also because the two groups significantly intersect each other, any study of the Thirteen Later Translations must, to some extent, take into account the Five Earlier Translations.

For example, the *rDo la gser zhun* exhibits a particularly fluid status, sometimes designated as one of the Earlier Translations, and sometimes as one of the Later. The reason for its mobility between the two classifications is probably the strong traditional attribution of this text to Mañjuśrīmitra.<sup>178</sup> As the other four texts acquired the scriptural status of tantras, or Buddha-speech, the presence among them of an explicitly human-authored work was probably deemed incongruous. As a result, the *rDo la gser zhun* was frequently ousted from the Five Earlier Translations. When this occurred, it was usually

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<sup>175</sup> This is implied, although not explicitly stated, in the biography of Vairocana. See Palmo 2004, p. 148.

<sup>176</sup> Jigs med gling pa, in his catalogue to his edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, p. 157.5: *Man ngag sems sde bco brgyad rnam dar dkar la ra dkar mo'i 'o mas 'bris*.

<sup>177</sup> To date, only one English translation of the five texts as a group is available, under the title *The Eye of the storm: Vairocana's five original transmissions*, translation and commentary by Keith Dowman, Vajra Publications, 2006. The *Rig pa'i khu byug* is translated in Karmay 1988, p. 50. My own translation of the Dunhuang *Rig pa'i khu byug* manuscript is available online at [www.zangthal.co.uk](http://www.zangthal.co.uk). The *rDo la gser zhun* is translated in Norbu and Lipman, 2001. Christopher Wilkinson is currently preparing a new translation of these five texts.

<sup>178</sup> The composition of the *rDo la gser zhun* by Mañjuśrīmitra is recounted in many legendary accounts of the early rDzogs chen tradition. See, for example, the account given in the biography of Vairocana, translated in Palmo 2004, pp.441-442.

shifted either into the Thirteen Later Translations or to a group of three supplementary texts, bringing the total to twenty-one. Sometimes it was even removed from the corpus altogether<sup>179</sup>. Its place among the Five Earlier Translations was then taken either by the *Byang chub sems bsgom pa*<sup>180</sup> or the *Thig le drug pa*.<sup>181</sup>

Tradition regards the *Rig pa'i khu byug* as the first rDzogs chen text translated into Tibetan. It does not, however, claim that it was the first ever rDzogs chen text. Accounts of rDzogs chen in India confer this distinction on the *Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan* [*rdo rje sems dpa'*] *nam mkha' che*, uttered by the miraculous infant dGa' rab rDo rje shortly after his birth.<sup>182</sup> The *Bairo 'dra bag* describes the legendary transmission of the five texts from Śrī Sīmha to Vairocana.<sup>183</sup>

As a sign that the doctrine would come to Tibet Śrī Sīmha taught the *Rig pa'i khu byug*. To express that everything is perfect, he taught *rTsal chen sprugs pa*. To express the meaning of meditation, he taught *Thig le drug pa*. To express the conclusion of the view and conduct of all the vehicles, he taught the *Khyung chen lding ba*. To show the superiority of Ati over the other vehicles, he taught the view of *Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*.<sup>184</sup>

The *Rig pa'i khu byug* is also known by its alternative title, *rDo rje tshig drug*. Both appellations appear, along with a third, in the Dunhuang manuscript version of the text<sup>185</sup>, and so must predate the eleventh century. Furthermore, the *bSam gtan mig sgron* contains several citations that just give the abbreviated title of *Khu byug*.

<sup>179</sup> Sog zlog pa, for example, removes the *rDo la gser zhun* altogether from the Eighteen Texts, declaring "generally, the Mind Series is composed of the Eighteen root Mind Series (texts), and the eighty-two minor Mind Series (texts); and you should know that the *rDo la gser zhun* is one of the members of the minor texts." (Sog zlog pa, fol. 258.4). See also Karmay, 1988 p. 24, n.4.

<sup>180</sup> The Vth Dalai Lama substituted the *sGom pa don drug* (=sGom pa don sgrub) for it, which forms according to him the 26<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Kun byed rgyal po*. See Karmay 1988, p. 207, n.7.

<sup>181</sup> See the discussion of this text below, on p. 118.

<sup>182</sup> Palmo 2004, p. 44.

<sup>183</sup> VGB, vol. 8, fol. 519.4: *de yang bod du bstan pa 'byung ba'i rtag du/ rig pa'i khu byug bshad/ kun rdzogs par la ston pa'i rtags su rtsal chen sprugs pa bshad/ bsam bstan ston pa'i rtags su thig le drug pa bshad/ theg pa thams cad kyi lta spyod khog du 'dus pa'i rtags su khyung chen bshad/ theg pa thams cad las khyad 'don pa'i rtags su lta ba mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan bshad*. Translated in Palmo 2004, p.117-118.

<sup>184</sup> The *Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan* is an alternative title of the *rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che*.

<sup>185</sup> IOL Tib. J 647.

Even so, it remains possible that the text was originally known as the *rDo rje tshig drug*. This is the only title it bears in Rong zom paṇḍita's eleventh-century *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa*.<sup>186</sup> The cuckoo, whose song signals the spring, is used as a metaphor for the arrival of the rDzogs chen teaching in Tibet. However, since the term *rig pa* in the rDzogs chen sense of "pristine awareness" or "gnosis" is virtually absent from the earliest stratum of Mind Series texts<sup>187</sup>, it may be that *Rig pa'i khu byug* was applied retroactively once the text had gained iconic status as the first rDzogs chen text translated into Tibetan.<sup>188</sup>

The longest text among the Five Earlier Translations is the *Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan* [*rdo rje sems dpa'*] *nam mkha' che*, ascribed to dGa' rab rDo rje. A comparison of this text with the *rDo la gser zhun* reveals a contrast between the latter's respectful endorsement of the validity of Tantric practice in some circumstances<sup>189</sup> and the *Nam mkha' che*'s<sup>190</sup> rejection of such practice as "a childish pursuit" (*byis pa'i spyod yul*).<sup>191</sup>

The *Nam mkha' che* regards even the disturbing passions (*nyon mongs/kleśa*) as not divorced from the state of *bodhicitta*. It states: "from that ignorance that does not conceptualize anything it immediately arises within oneself."<sup>192</sup> Rejecting dependence on

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<sup>186</sup> Rong zom, p. 130, 3-4.

<sup>187</sup> However, the related term *rang [gi] rig [pa]* does occur.

<sup>188</sup> There may, however, have been a custom of giving multiple titles to this and other rDzogs chen texts from very early on. The second section of the Dunhuang commentary explains that the three titles of the *Rig pa'i khu byug* are a metaphorical (*dpe*) title, a title that reveals the meaning (*don*), and a descriptive title (*grangs*). This system of nomenclature according to *dpe*, *don*, *grangs* is also employed in numerous other rDzogs chen works.

<sup>189</sup> For example, see Norbu and Lipman 2001, p. 65, and p.121, lines 124-127. This passage quotes an unnamed teacher as stating that "pure symbolic consumption is also *bodhicitta*": *brda can yang dag len pa'ang byang chub yin zhes ston pas gsung*. This probably denotes the ritual consumption of semen in the practice of *sbyor ba*. The same passage also refers to the Three *Samādhi* (*ting 'dzin gsum po*), and the Great Seal of the Dharma (*chos kyi phyag rgya chen po*).

<sup>190</sup> I cite here the *Kun byed rgyal po* version of this text translated in Norbu & Clemente, 1999, pp. 168-173.

<sup>191</sup> *Kun byed rgyal po*, mTshams brag NGB vol. Ka, p. 110.5: *byang chub yan lag kun gyi sgo/ cha lugs bsgoms pas chu zla bzhin/ ma gos ma chags 'byung 'gyur yang/ bsgoms pas byis pa'i spyod yul bzhin*. My translation of *byis pa'i spyod yul* differs from Norbu & Clemente, *op. cit.*, p.171, which has "the affairs of ordinary folk".

<sup>192</sup> *Kun byed rgyal po*, mTshams brag NGB vol. Ka, p. 111, 5-6: *cir yang mi dmigs gti mug las/ de ma thag tu rang las 'byung*. Translation from *op. cit.* p. 172.

anything or anyone external, such as (by implication) a consort for the Tantric practice of Union (*sbyor ba*), it declares "keeping this state for an instant is union"<sup>193</sup> and "the King of equality has never spoken of male and female".<sup>194</sup> Such "non-dual union" (*gnyis med sbyor ba*),<sup>195</sup> where the state of great bliss is synonymous with the realization of *bodhicitta*, is echoed in several of the Thirteen Later Translations.<sup>196</sup>

Since it seems to assume that the reader is ready to take the principles of the practice of Union into the realm of abstraction and interiorization, in my view the *Nam mkha' che* is more likely to post-date the *rDo la gser zhun* than to precede it. If this hypothesis is correct, the *rDo la gser zhun* may be the earliest extant rDzogs chen text.

There seems to be little evident difference between the doctrines of Five Earlier and the Thirteen Later Translations.<sup>197</sup> Indeed Khetsun Sangpo's biography of Vairocana declares: "Both of these [translations] are like a mother and son, and are in agreement [with each other]."<sup>198</sup>

Tradition holds that their translations were separated by only a few years.<sup>199</sup> However, we need to draw a clear distinction between the dates of their translation and of their original composition. The texts' present division into "earlier" and "later" may be misleading. They may well be broadly contemporary compositions, although perhaps derived from discrete geographical areas or lineages. It is also rather unlikely that Vairocana would

<sup>193</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 112.5: [*de nyid mnyam gzahag rdzogs pa 'o/*] *yud tsam gzung bas sbyor ba yin*. Translation in Norbu & Clemente, p. 173.

<sup>194</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 110.3: '*di la skyes pa bud med ces/ mnyam pa'i rgyal pos yongs ma gsungs*. Translation in Norbu & Clemente, p. 171.

<sup>195</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 112. 6.

<sup>196</sup> For examples from the *rTse mo byung rgyal* see page 43.

<sup>197</sup> That is, with the exception of the *rDo la gser zhun*.

<sup>198</sup> However, this interesting passage in Khetsun Sangpo, 1973, vol. 3, pp. 95, 96 possibly implies that until Vimalamitra and gNyags Jñānakumara taught them alongside the Thirteen Later Translations, a certain doubt had existed in the Tibetan court regarding the Five Earlier Translations of Vairocana: [*de yang g.yu sgras nam mkha' che la sogs pa sngar bai ros mnga' bdag la gsungs pa rnams bshad pas snga 'gyur lnga zhes grags/ bi ma las rtse mo byung rgyal la sogs bcu gsum gsungs pas phyi 'gyur zhes grags shing/*] *gnyis ka ma bu bzhin 'grigs pas [thams cad yid ches te bai ro'i yon tan brjod par byed cing tsha ba'i rong du kha bstas te ngu zhing phyag byas so]*. See the translation in Hanson-Barber, 1984, p. 87.

<sup>199</sup> According to the traditional accounts, Vimalamitra and his colleagues translated the Thirteen Later Translations only a short time after Vairocana's translation of the Five Earlier ones, while the latter was still in Tsha ba rong. See Palmo 2004, p. 148, p. 210.

simply have followed the texts' chronological order of composition in deciding which texts to translate first. There is not, as far as I have been able to ascertain, a single citation from or reference to the Five "Earlier" translations in the Thirteen "Later" ones, or vice-versa.<sup>200</sup>

Two other, much more plausible, factors might have influenced which texts were translated first: their perceived importance or relevance, and their availability. Vairocana was exiled to Tsha ba rong in eastern Tibet after he translated the Five Earlier Translations. It may not be a total coincidence that an early manuscript of the *Rig pa'i khu byug* turned up in Dunhuang, which is much closer to that region than central Tibet.

It would be beyond the scope of this study to probe in detail the history of the individual texts of the Five Earlier Translations. They exhibit key doctrinal themes which are common to both textual sub-sets. These include a shared predilection for the negation of aspects of other paths: an emphasis on "non-action" (*bya med*), and not seeking (*rtsol med*) the enlightened state. They assert that there is no need for meditation or gradual practices to purify or improve oneself. Likewise, there is no path to follow, as the "destination" of enlightenment is already reached, and primordially-immanent. They repeatedly stress non-duality (*gnyis med*) and universal equality (*mnyam nyid*). The *Khyung chen lding ba*, for example, refers to the manner of realization as "remaining in [the state of] direct perception of [one's] identity [that is] primordial enlightenment." (*ye nas sangs rgyas bdag nyid mngon sum gnas pa*)<sup>201</sup>.

The exception to the above remarks is the *rDo la gser zhun*. This text has a notably more scholarly, and less lyrical and experiential character than the rest of the Eighteen Texts. Lipman argues convincingly<sup>202</sup> that this text's "three phases" (*lus gsum*)<sup>203</sup> by means of

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<sup>200</sup> With the possible exception of the passages that seem to echo the *rDo la gser zhun* included in Ch.3 of the *Thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa'i rgyud*, which I identify with the *Thig le drug pa*. As the *Thig le drug pa* was itself sometimes included among the *sNga 'gyur lnga*, and closely linked to them, this does not invalidate my point about the lack of mutual references between the two sub-groups.

<sup>201</sup> From the version of the text found in the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, Vol. 5 p. 309.2.

<sup>202</sup> Norbu and Lipman 2001, pp.14-15.

which phenomena appear to the mind correspond to the three "Transformations" described in the Mind-only (*Cittamātra*) school, specifically in Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikā*. He acknowledges the absence from this text of "characteristic rDzogs chen terminology", including the actual phrase "*rdzogs chen*" itself. Lipman ascribes this to the novelty of rDzogs chen to Mañjuśrīmitra when he wrote it.<sup>204</sup> I am inclined to think that the composition of the text actually predates the development or widespread adoption of such terminology.

The *rDo la gser zhun* contains several references to Brahmanical schools of thought in general, and specifically to Śiva.<sup>205</sup> These point to the errors of imputing a "self" to the process of conscious perceptions, and of ascribing to divine agency turns of events that are actually due to the maturation of karma. This would make sense if the text was in fact an Indic composition. Such philosophical criticisms were perhaps even more relevant if they arose in the context of a closely-inter-related yogic community. Both Buddhist and non-Buddhist yogic practitioners in eighth-century India and adjacent regions probably shared many forms of practice deriving from the common cultural substratum, as well as non-dual philosophy.<sup>206</sup>

### ***The Rosary of Views (Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba)***

The *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* is the only extant canonical text<sup>207</sup> attributed to Padmasambhava. rDzogs chen figures prominently in this work<sup>208</sup>, which tradition from

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<sup>203</sup> See the *Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i rgyud* (an expanded version, incorporating most of the text of the *rDo la gser zhun*), in mTshams brag, vol. 1, Tb. 37 (=Dg. 155, Tk. 69) fol. 324b 1.4: *sems dang sems las byung ba de nyid lus gsum don du snang ba yin*.

<sup>204</sup> Norbu and Lipman, *op. cit.* p. 9. Mañjuśrīmitra is said to have composed the text to express his realization immediately after first receiving rDzogs chen teaching from dGa' rab rdo rje.

<sup>205</sup> See the edition in Norbu and Lipman, 2001; p. 117, lines 49, 54; p. 119, line 95.

<sup>206</sup> See above, p. 29 for a more detailed discussion of the possible links between rDzogs chen and Trika Śaivism in particular.

<sup>207</sup> It is found within the *bsTan 'gyur*; T vol. 83, no. 4726.

<sup>208</sup> Although the actual term *rdzogs chen* appears only in this text as an extension of the term *rdzogs rim* - as noted by Karmay 1988 p.138 this is "quite current in Mahāyoga tantras". See also Dalton 2004 b. "The development of perfection". p. 19, n. 54.

at least the time of Rong zom pa <sup>209</sup> ascribes to Padmasambhava. Indeed, the *sBa bzhed* chronicle states that he expounded this text to twenty-one people including the *btsan po* and his retainers. However, none of this is found in the earlier recension of the *dBa' bzhed*, <sup>210</sup> which may suggest that he was only subsequently connected to rDzogs chen. <sup>211</sup>

Later tradition, especially the "treasure" (*gter ma*) texts, identify him as one of the two principal sources behind the introduction of the rDzogs chen teachings to Tibet, the other being Vairocana. However, it is likely that the *gter ma* tradition has exaggerated the role of Padmasambhava in the early diffusion of rDzogs chen. The picture that emerges from the Dunhuang sources such as PT 44 (in which Padmasambhava brings the practice of Vajrakīlāya from India to Nepal, and thence to Tibet) is that of a charismatic tantric practitioner, most closely linked with the practice of Vajrakīlāya. <sup>212</sup>

Although the last section of PT44 declares that he practised at every level from *kriyā* up to Atiyoga, there is little sign in the Dunhuang documents of his later strong association with rDzogs chen. The one text attributed to him, IOL Tib J 321, is a Mahāyoga commentary.

Moreover, IOL Tib J 321 contains two pertinent notes. One affirms "this was taught by Padmasambhava without any fabrications of his own" and the other that "Acārya Śāntigarbha examined this and found it free from error" <sup>213</sup>. The implication that Padmasambhava was deemed unworthy to include his own ideas in this text, and was subordinate to Śāntigarbha, an insignificant figure in later Tibetan tradition, is

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<sup>209</sup> Rong zom pa ascribes it to him in his 11th-century commentary on this work. See Kapstein 2000, p.156 /7 and also Karmay 1988, p. 142.

<sup>210</sup> See Diemberger, 2007.

<sup>211</sup> In Chapter fourteen of the *Zangs gling ma* the king relates a dream to Padmasambhava in which Vajrasattva instructs him to send translators to India to bring back the Great Perfection teachings. Although Padmasambhava gives the translators magical powers to help on their journey, they receive the teachings from Śrī Siṃha, not from him. See Kunsang 2004, p. 90 and following.

<sup>212</sup> See Dalton 2004, p. 769.

<sup>213</sup> See Dalton 2004 p. 768. See also <http://www.earlytibet.com/2007/06> (under "Padmasambhava: the early sources").

remarkable.<sup>214</sup> The earliest references to him in the *sBa' bzhed*<sup>215</sup> portray him as a minor figure in comparison, for example, to Śāntarakṣita.

Karmay describes the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* as an early example of the *grub mtha'* genre<sup>216</sup> which sets out and compares various different Buddhist paths. It does so within an implicit framework of Nine Vehicles (*theg pa*), although it calls the last three vehicles methods (*tshul*), not vehicles.<sup>217</sup> This system was probably not in general use before the tenth century,<sup>218</sup> although it appears in its infancy in the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* around the mid-ninth. Dalton holds that the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* reflects a stage of tantric development he would expect to see in the late eighth century. In other words, he believes that its attribution to Padmasambhava is feasible.<sup>219</sup>

Due partly to the glamour of its attribution, this text attracted much exegesis, right up to the nineteenth century.<sup>220</sup> Rong zom chos kyi bzang po, writing in the eleventh century, called it "an accessory to chapter XIII of the *Guhyagarbha Tantra* explicating the mode in which all the elements are realized as spontaneous from the beginning in the Great Perfection."<sup>221</sup> The *Guhyagarbha Tantra* (*gSang ba snying po*), which probably circulated in India by the mid-eighth century<sup>222</sup> is the basic text of the Mahāyoga tantras.

The *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba*, at least in some form, predates the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, since the latter quotes two passages from it.<sup>223</sup> These passages belong to the Mahāyoga Chapter (6) of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*. There are no citations from it in the

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<sup>214</sup> This is backed up by Tāranātha's inclusion of this master as one of Padmasambhava's teachers, in his biography of him entitled *Yid ches gsum ldan*, translated in Ngawang Zangpo, 2002.

<sup>215</sup> In the earliest version of this text, under the variant title of *dBa' bzhed*. See Wangdu and Diemberger, 2000.

<sup>216</sup> Karmay 1988, p. 137.

<sup>217</sup> They are listed as *skye pa'i tshul*, *rdzogs pa'i tshul*, *rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul*.

<sup>218</sup> It is found, for example, in the context of deity yoga in PT 322a.5: *theg pa dgu'i khyad par ston pa'i tshul*. On the development of the Nine Vehicle system in Tibet, see Dalton, 2005, p.140- p.144.

<sup>219</sup> Dalton 2005, p. 132, n. 41.

<sup>220</sup> Witness the commentary by Mipham, entitled *slob dpon chen po pad ma byung ngas kyis mdzad pa'i man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba'i mchan 'grel nor bu'i bang mdzod*, in *Mi pham gsung 'bum*, sDe dge edition vol. Da.

<sup>221</sup> As translated in Karmay 1988, p.139.

<sup>222</sup> van Schaik 2004, p. 178.

<sup>223</sup> The passages cited are discussed in Karmay, *op.cit.* p.143.



chapter (7) on rDzogs chen. This reflects the fact that the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* follows the *Guhyagarbha Tantra* in treating rDzogs chen as a level of realization resulting from the Mahāyoga practices of generation and perfection.

However, chapter six of the *bSam gtan mig sgron* distinguishes what it calls the simultaneous approach (*cig car*) in Mahāyoga from the gradualist one. In the section on the simultaneous approach, an interlinear note ascribes this approach to "The Rosary of Views of the Instructor Padma[sambhava], and so on"<sup>224</sup>.

"A simultaneous approach to Mahāyoga" would serve as a rough description of Anuyoga,<sup>225</sup> which is the eighth tantric vehicle in the rNying ma system. The texts later regarded as fundamental to this tradition, in particular the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*, were in circulation in Tibet from the late ninth century.<sup>226</sup> However, Anuyoga is only distinguishable as a separate approach from the tenth century on, at least in the surviving textual evidence.

This similarity with Anuyoga led Achard to question the link of the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* to rDzogs chen.<sup>227</sup> He observes that "it rather appears that rDzogs chen as it is defined in this text is the fruit of the Anuyoga system and does not belong to the teachings of Atiyoga proper." However, this is only a problem, in my view, if one assumes the anachronistic viewpoint of categorising the two as distinct vehicles. At the time of the text's composition, the firm delineation of Anuyoga from "Atiyoga proper" still lay in the future.

One of the Thirteen Later Translations, the *rTse mo byung rgyal*, confirms this. It incorporates elements that were later distinguished as Anuyoga, such as the maṇḍala of

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<sup>224</sup> STMG 238.5; *de la cig car* <*slob dpon padma'i lta phreng la sogs pa* /> '*jug pa'i gzhung gis*. The interlinear note is shown within brackets.

<sup>225</sup> In Anuyoga the practitioner instantly visualizes him or herself as the deity, whereas in Mahāyoga the visualization is a gradual process.

<sup>226</sup> See Dalton, 2002 p.1.

<sup>227</sup> Achard 2008, p. 42.

*Tshogs chen 'dus pa*, the main maṇḍala of the *dGongs 'dus* tantra<sup>228</sup>. gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes also cites from the *dGongs 'dus* throughout his STMG chapter on rDzogs chen, implying that he viewed it as a rDzogs chen scripture.

van Schaik, in contrast to Achard, believes the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* to represent one end of a spectrum of early rDzogs chen literature, specifically that closely linked with tantric ritual. (Another example would be the *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*). Such works address the issues arising out of tantric deity yoga in rDzogs chen terms, whereas those at the opposite end of the spectrum “communicate the Great Perfection approach without explicit ritual or meditative instruction.”<sup>229</sup>

### ***The Works of gNyan dPal dbyangs***

gNyan dPal dbyangs was a Tibetan Mahāyoga master of the early ninth century. His name is found in early rNying ma lineage lists along with figures such as Vimalamitra and Buddhagupta. His own immediate teachers included gNyags Jñānakumara, as well as, possibly, a certain Nyi ma'i 'od kyi seng ge (Skt. *Sūryaprabhāsaśiṃha*),<sup>230</sup> to whom tradition attributes an early commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra*. dPal dbyangs himself, among whose disciples was gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, was the credited author of seven extant works. These are the relatively long *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*, six shorter works known collectively as *sGron ma drug*<sup>231</sup>, and a letter of advice on Buddhist doctrine (*gCes pa bsodus pa'i phrin yig*)<sup>232</sup>. Kammie Takahashi recently completed a full survey of the corpus and historical status of this hitherto rather obscure figure<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> *rTse mo byung rgyal*, fol. 305 v.3.

<sup>229</sup> van Schaik, 2008, p.20. In the latter category he cites the examples of Buddhagupta's *sBas pa'i rgum chung* and Mañjuśrīmitra's *rDo la gser zhun*.

<sup>230</sup> This name seems to occur in one of dPal dbyang's works, the *lta ba yang dag sgron ma*. van Schaik speculates that this figure may be one and the same as Śrī Siṃha, the teacher of Vairocana. See van Schaik 2004, p.193, p.194 and n. 84.

<sup>231</sup> The *sGron ma drug* comprise: *Thugs kyi sgron ma*; *lTa ba yang dag sgron ma*; *mTha'i mun sel sgron ma*; *Thab shes sgron ma*; *bsGom thabs kyi sgron ma*; *lTa ba rin chen sgron ma*. Takahashi, 2009, p. 3.

<sup>232</sup> Takahashi considers this letter to be the work of a different author.

<sup>233</sup> Takahashi K, 2009.

highlighting his significant influence on contemporaneous and future doctrinal developments, in particular on those of rDzogs chen.

None of dPal dbyang's works refer to other rDzogs chen scriptures. This suggests that they were written at a time before such scriptures were an established genre. Although there is a vague reference to statements (*lung*) and precepts (*man ngag*) in the *lTa ba yang dag sgron ma*,<sup>234</sup> these might have been unwritten, orally transmitted works. The expression rDzogs chen itself only appears in the *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*; the other works refer to their doctrine in other terms, such as "the yoga of one's own mind" (*rang sems rnal 'byor*).<sup>235</sup>

The longest text of the *sGron ma drug* series is the *Thugs kyi sgron ma*. It differs from the rest in its focus on Mahāyoga and its relationship to other styles of practice.<sup>236</sup> The remaining five are characteristic Mind Series texts. Dpal dbyangs invokes the same notions found throughout Mind Series literature, such as spontaneous accomplishment (*lhun grub*), non-duality, and *bodhicitta* as the true nature of all phenomena. However, he concentrates on how these ideas accord with the ritual aspects of Mahāyoga, in order to resolve the apparent paradox of practising in order to obtain enlightenment that is effortlessly, primordially-present.

Takahashi points to numerous places in the works of dPal dbyangs where he borrows from other texts. These include the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, Buddhaguhya's *Mārgavyuha*, the *rNal 'byor chen po shes rab spyan 'byed kyi man ngag*, a work attributed to Vimalamitra<sup>237</sup> as well as passages from Buddhagupta's *sBas pa'i rgum chung*.<sup>238</sup> This

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<sup>234</sup> van Schaik, 2004, p. 191.

<sup>235</sup> This phrase is found in the *lTa ba yang dag sgron ma*, and also in the *rDo rje sems dpa' zhus lan*, where it is synonymous with Mahāyoga. See Takahashi, 2009, p. 119.

<sup>236</sup> van Schaik 2004 p. 191.

<sup>237</sup> This is in the *bKa' 'gyur* (P.4725). It appears to be a strictly Mahāyoga text.

<sup>238</sup> Takahashi, *op. cit.* p. 4.

last work is known to us from a Dunhuang manuscript copy<sup>239</sup>, as is dPal dbyang's *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*.<sup>240</sup>

Takahashi spotted a Dunhuang manuscript (PT 1257) that contains a "short list of sūtra, śāstra and vinaya works whose translation the manuscript attributes to a dPal dbyangs."<sup>241</sup> This list includes a text called *Shes rab sgron ma* which, she notes, is very close to the title of "one of his own texts", referring to the *Thabs shes sgron ma*.<sup>242</sup>

Takahashi draws attention to one particular unusual phrase (*ye shes rgyu ma*). This is found both in dPal dbyang's *Thabs shes sgron ma* and also one of the Thirteen Later Translations, namely the *rTse mo byung rgyal*. However, I discovered that the wording of the *Thabs shes sgron ma*<sup>243</sup> is almost identical with that of the *rTse mo byung rgyal*.

Since the *Thabs shes sgron ma* appears to be an extract from the *rTse mo byung rgyal*, we must probe dPal dbyangs' relationship to the latter text. There are three possibilities: he translated it, he himself wrote it, or he simply borrowed from and adapted it. If he translated it himself, why does his name not feature among the traditionally-credited translators? Furthermore, why is the *Thabs shes sgron ma* ascribed to him as author rather than translator? Given these problems, I believe it is more likely that dPal dbyangs was the author rather than the translator of the *rTse mo byung rgyal*.

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<sup>239</sup> IOL Tib J 594.

<sup>240</sup> The *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan* is found in three Dunhuang manuscripts, (IOL Tib J 470, PT 819, PT 837) which is certainly, as Takahashi notes, an indication of unusual prominence for this work, although how widely this extended beyond the region of Dunhuang is difficult to gauge.

<sup>241</sup> The manuscript PT 1257 consists of a bilingual word-list of Buddhist terms in Tibetan and Chinese, part of which is concerned with the titles of important texts. I have counted roughly eighty-five titles, some of them of very substantial works - far too many for one person to have translated. It therefore seems much more likely that the phrase "written and edited by dPal dbyangs" refers to the manuscript itself, not to the actual works listed in it. Otherwise, one might expect the wording "translated and edited" (*bsgyur cing zhus*), not "wrote and edited."

<sup>242</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 62 n.78.

<sup>243</sup> From its third stanza up to its end, the wording of the *Thabs shes sgron ma* follows that of the *rTse mo byung rgyal*.

It could also be that he simply borrowed and adapted it.<sup>244</sup> We know that he borrowed from the work of Buddhagupta, so did he also borrow liberally from the work of another master in the lineage? If so, could one of his own masters, such as Nyags Jñānakumara, or perhaps Sūryprabhāsaśiṃha, be the author of the *rTse mo byung rgyal*? Whatever the answer to these intriguing questions, it is the first time that a historical personality (apart from Vimalamitra and his two collaborators) has been directly linked with one of the Thirteen Later Translations.

This discovery has important implications. Since the *Thabs shes sgron ma* is basically an excerpt from *rTse mo byung rgyal*, (or perhaps a much shorter version of it), we now know that at least one of the texts of the Thirteen Later Translations existed already in the early part of the ninth century. This is a significant step to establish a firm chronological framework for early Mind Series literature.

rNying ma lineage histories rank dPal dbyangs among the teachers of gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes. The latter, in turn, drew heavily on his master's works and also on the texts of the Eighteen Great Scriptures in his seminal *bSam gtan mig sgron*. To this I shall turn next.

### ***The Lamp for the Eye of Contemplation (bSam gtan mig sgron)***

The *bSam gtan mig sgron* (hereafter STMG) is the first Tibetan text to contain a detailed exposition of the rDzogs chen system. It constitutes, thus, the most important early work on the Mind Series. It sets out, at length, four paths to enlightenment current in the late ninth or early tenth century.<sup>245</sup> This includes the gradual Mahāyāna approach, the simultaneous approach of the *sTon Mun* (Chan), Mahāyoga, and finally, as the highest method, the Great Perfection.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> What the modern world would deem plagiarism was extremely common, and has always been regarded in Tibet as more of a gesture of respect, handing on valued knowledge, than as literary theft.

<sup>245</sup> Karmay 1988, p. 207.

<sup>246</sup> STMG Chapter seven, pp. 290–494.

Its author, gNubs chen Sangs rgyas Ye shes, was born in the sGrag region of central Tibet (*dBus*), but travelled widely in search of teachings. He trained with many important masters<sup>247</sup> including gNyags Jñānakumara, one of the translators of the Thirteen Later Translations, and gNyan dpal dbyangs, author of the *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*.<sup>248</sup>

In chapter seven, the STMG gives nine different explanations of the “View”, or core philosophical standpoint, of rDzogs chen. Interlinear notes, probably written by the author himself, ascribe each explanation to a named Indian or Tibetan teacher.<sup>249</sup>

This text is fundamental to our study of the Thirteen Later Translations (as well as to the Five Earlier ones) since it is the first known source that cites from them, and very extensively at that.<sup>250</sup> I referred above to its reference to the *Twenty or Eighteen Minor* [texts on] *Mind*, the first instance of this categorization. Thus we deduce that at the time of STMG's composition there were two alternative enumerations, of either twenty or eighteen "minor" *sems sde* texts. Unfortunately, gNubs chen does not list the titles, but he does cite from every single text that Klong chen pa includes in his list.<sup>251</sup>

To date, Neumaier-Dargyay is the only modern scholar to compare the STMG citations of the Eighteen Major Scriptures with the extant versions of these texts.<sup>252</sup> Her analysis of the Thirteen Later Translations, however, is based only on two of the texts, the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* and the *Thig le drug pa*. Furthermore, the analysis of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* examines only one version of that text. She overlooked the significantly

<sup>247</sup> Including Nyags Jñānakumara's disciples Sog po dpal gyi ye shes and Zhang rgyal ba'i yon tan, both of whom had also been disciples of rMa rin chen mchog. He is also counted among the traditional enumeration of the twenty five disciples of Padmasambhava, although this is historically dubious.

<sup>248</sup> See above, p. 60 for gNyan dpal byangs' borrowing from one of the Thirteen Later Translations.

<sup>249</sup> Karmay translated useful excerpts from this section. See Karmay 1988, pp. 113-118. Chapter seven has recently been translated into Italian, see Baroetto, G. 2010. An English translation and study of the complete text by Dylan Esler will also be available shortly, which should greatly contribute to its wider appreciation. See Esler, D. forthcoming (PhD thesis).

<sup>250</sup> The *Mun pa'i go cha*, an earlier and still-untranslated work by the same author that dates according to Dalton to around 885, also cites from at least one of the Thirteen Later Translations, i.e. the sDe dge version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*. See below p.125. It may also contain other citations from the Thirteen Texts, but limitations of time and its great length have not permitted me to examine it in full.

<sup>251</sup> The STMG also cites extensively from the *rMad du byung ba*, which Klong chen pa omits from his list. For citation references, see Appendix.

<sup>252</sup> I would like to thank Eve K. Neumaier-Dargyay for allowing me access to her unpublished paper on this subject.

different sDe dge recension, where the fourteen citations that I have found <sup>253</sup> closely match those in the STMG.<sup>254</sup>

The three relevant *bSam gtan mig sgron* citations are absent from the text which Neumaier-Dargyay and others<sup>255</sup> posited to be the likely *Thig le drug pa*.<sup>256</sup> Again, I managed to locate all three citations in the text I identify as the *Thig le drug pa*, the *Thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa*.<sup>257</sup>

In the course of my study I compared the STMG citations and the corresponding passages in all extant versions of the Thirteen Later Translations. This produced a high level of correspondence and general accuracy between the earlier text's citations and the extant versions.

### ***The All-creating King (Kun byed rgyal po)***

The *Kun byed rgyal po*<sup>258</sup> (hereafter KBG) is a long Mind Series text whose translation tradition attributes to Śrī Simha and Vairocana.<sup>259</sup> Vairocana, of course, also translated the *Five Earlier Translations*. The KBG consists of a discourse between the All-creating King, a synonym for primordial enlightenment symbolized by the Buddha Samantabhadra<sup>260</sup>, and Sattvavajra.<sup>261</sup> Although the word *mdo* in its full title, (*Kun byed rgyal po'i mdo*) would indicate that it is classed as a Sūtra, the rNying ma school has long

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<sup>253</sup> Neumaier-Dargyay stated that there were only three STMG quotations from the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, totaling ten lines, but I have found thirteen, amounting to forty-one lines in total. See Appendix.

<sup>254</sup> The citations also match closely with the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* commentaries found in the *rNying ma bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*. See below p. 125 for a detailed discussion of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* and related texts.

<sup>255</sup> For example, Arguillere and Achard.

<sup>256</sup> The text in question is the *Mi 'gyur ba'i thig le tig* (Tb 26).

<sup>257</sup> Tb 124, the *rDzogs pa chen po chos nyid byang chub kyi sems thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud*. (=Dg. Vol. Ra /25 text 22 pp.269b-278a; Tk. Vol. 2 text 47, pp.128 – 148)

<sup>258</sup> There are currently two English translations available of this text, one by Neumaier-Dargyay, under the title *The Sovereign all-creating mind, the motherly buddha*, and another, partial one by Clemente & Norbu entitled *The Supreme Source*. See bibliography.

<sup>259</sup> See Karmay 1975, p. 148.

<sup>260</sup> For a detailed discussion of the title, see Norbu & Clemente 1999 pp.14, 15.

<sup>261</sup> This is an alternative form of the name of Vajrasattva.

regarded the KBG as the fundamental Tantra (*rgyud*) of the Mind Series. Uniquely among rDzogs chen texts, it is found not only in the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* and the *rNying ma bKa' ma*, but also in many editions of the *bKa' 'gyur*.<sup>262</sup>

Its chief relevance to the present study lies in the fact that it quotes from, or rather incorporates, versions of the Five Earlier Translations.<sup>263</sup> The Thirteen Later Translations do not feature in the KBG. Perhaps its author did not regard the texts as authoritative scriptures. Alternatively, the Thirteen Later Translations might post-date the KBG. However, this would place the KBG earlier than the STMG, which cites the Thirteen Later Translations extensively. The total absence of citations of the KBG in the STMG weighs against this.

Germano believes (and I concur) that this absence of citations of the KBG in the STMG suggests that the KBG was probably a Tibetan composition in the late tenth century.<sup>264</sup> Presenting itself as the utterance of a buddha, it may have deliberately incorporated earlier translated texts regarded as canonical in an attempt to strengthen its own claim to scriptural status. However, it also introduced innovations that some Buddhists found difficult to accept.

Indeed, Pho brang zhi ba 'od, a West Tibetan ruler, denounced the *Kun byed rgyal po* in an edict as early as the eleventh century (1032). He claimed it was a composition by an otherwise unknown Tibetan named Drang nga shag tshul.<sup>265</sup> The scholar 'Bri gung dpal 'dzin (1143-1217) referred to this edict in his criticism of rDzogs chen as an inauthentic teaching.<sup>266</sup> rNying ma author Sog zlog pa countered his attack in the fifteenth century, pointing out<sup>267</sup> that the edict of Pho brang zhi ba 'od wrongly included the *Kun byed rgyal*

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<sup>262</sup> See Karmay 1975, p.148.

<sup>263</sup> Its version of the *rDo la gser zhun* is shorter than the independent version of the text.

<sup>264</sup> Germano 1994, p. 235. However, Germano (2005, p. 6) himself also points out the danger of collapsing the difference between known historical references to a text's existence and the possibility of much earlier origins presently undocumented. For an overview of the Tibetan debates on the KBG's "authenticity", i.e. its claim to being a translation from a Sanskrit original, see Karmay 1975.

<sup>265</sup> Germano *loc.cit.* See also Lipman and Peterson 2000, p. 81.

<sup>266</sup> In his work entitled *Chos dang chos ma yin pa rnam par dbye ba'i rab tu byed pa*.

<sup>267</sup> In his *Nges pa'i don gyi 'brug sgra*, in *Collected Writings of Sog zlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan*, vol. 1 (New Delhi 1975).



*po* among the Eighteen Tantras of the Mind Series <sup>268</sup> and attributed them all to one Drang nga shag tshul.<sup>269</sup> 'Bri gung dpal 'dzin himself attributed the Eighteen Tantras (including the Thirteen Later Translations) to one Nyang ston smra ba'i seng ge.<sup>270</sup>

It may not be possible to identify with certainty the authors and /or redactors of the KBG. The composite character of the text is clear. Because its version of the *rDo la gser zhun* is shorter than the separate "*lung*" version, Clemente suggests that this KBG version of the *rDo la gser zhun* might be the original one authored by Mañjuśrīmitra.<sup>271</sup> However, a parallel reading of the *rDo la gser zhun* and the KBG chapter twenty-six gives the distinct impression that the latter is a condensed, very free paraphrase of the former. I therefore reject Clemente's suggestion that the KBG version is the "original". Moreover, Clemente also notes that the various chapters of the text are described as *mdo lung*, or concise teachings. This could lead one to assume that the Tantra is a large collection of abbreviated *lungs*.<sup>272</sup> I think it unlikely that these texts, considered so fundamental to the later rDzogs chen tradition, should have been extracted from the KBG and later circulated independently from it

On the other hand, as I have noted in a previous study,<sup>273</sup> the STMG quotes a passage from [*Byang chub*] *sems bsgom* (an alternative title for the *rDo la gser zhun*) that appears to be extant solely in the KBG version of the *rDo la gser zhun*.<sup>274</sup> This implies either that

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<sup>268</sup> This part of the edict is translated in Lipman and Peterson, *loc. cit.*, as follows: "The Eighteen tantras of the *sems sde*, written by Drang nga shag tshul at the Copper Glacier in Upper Nyang, such as the *Kun byed rgyal po* [i.e. the All-creating King], the ten esoteric sūtras, the Ye shes gsang ba....[are prohibited]"

<sup>269</sup> Wilkinson argues that *drang du shag tshul* is not a personal name but a reference to the method of production of the texts, which he interprets as "using a technique of rendering [the original works] into excerpts". See Wilkinson 2012, p. 32.

<sup>270</sup> Sog zlog pa also states that Go lhatse claimed that the Thirteen texts including the *rMad du byung ba* were written by gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes himself. However, given that gNubs relies on them as scriptural sources for his arguments in the STMG, this is hardly plausible. See Norbu, "History and structure of the *Kun byed rgyalpo*" in Lipman and Peterson, 2000, p. 82.

<sup>271</sup> Norbu and Clemente 1999, p. 272, n.122

<sup>272</sup> *Op. cit.* p.64

<sup>273</sup> Liljenberg K. 2008, p. 35.

<sup>274</sup> STMG 414.5; Translated in Norbu and Clemente, 1999, p.164 as follows: "The darkness of wisdom that does not distinguish any form and the lamp of clarity that illuminates everything without hindrance are both beyond thought. The naturally quiescent condition is the supreme contemplation". This is described in an interlinear note as "the position of Mañjuśrīmitra".

there was a different<sup>275</sup> *sems bsgom* text containing this passage available at the time of composition of the STMG or that the STMG indeed quotes directly from the KBG here. This would of course mean that the KBG pre-dates the STMG.

In my view, it is more likely that the KBG version of the *rDo la gser zhun* previously circulated separately. It may also have been part of a prior anthology, a smaller collection of ten texts called the *Bya med rdzogs pa'i mdo lung*. This is one of the major sections into which the KBG is divided, and the one that contains most of the Five Earlier Translations.

The KBG describes<sup>276</sup> a system of four yogas, in ascending order according to their level of recognition of "the unaltered natural state". These are: Sattvayoga, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga. Since it assumes equal status with Mahāyoga, it is likely that Anuyoga was also reasonably firmly-established at this time. As the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*, the main Anuyoga Tantra, and its commentary by gNubs snag rgyas ye shes, the *Mun pa'i go cha* most probably date to the late ninth century<sup>277</sup>, this would mean that the KBG cannot predate these texts.

In conclusion, the KBG is most probably a tenth century composite work, drawing on older component texts. It exemplifies the type of Mind Series literature that adopts a sūtra-like structure that sets the transmission of the scripture in a celestial realm. The teaching itself is uttered by the Buddha-figure who represents primordially-inherent universal enlightenment (Samantabhadra) to the principal Buddha of the tantras (Vajrasattva or Sattvavajra). The text is divided into chapters each with its own title. This provides a formal structure, with an introductory chapter to set the scene, and a section towards the end that extols the virtues and power of the text itself.

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<sup>275</sup> Different, that is, from both the *Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i rgyud* and the *rDo la gser zhun*. Apart from this one *Kun byed rgyal po* passage, the *bSam gtan mig sgron* consistently cites a version of this text that is common to both the *Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i rgyud* and the *rDo la gser zhun*, while excluding altogether those passages unique to the *Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i rgyud*.

<sup>276</sup> In its chapter eight (See Norbu and Clemente 1999, p.142); also in its chapter 1 (see Neumaier-Dargay 1992, p. 36, n.75).

<sup>277</sup> See Dalton 2002, p.1.

The reason why the KBG omits the Thirteen Later Translations, but cites the Five Earlier Translations, remains unclear. It may be due to a wish to incorporate only the most authoritative and prestigious texts. Perhaps the particular regional lineage in which the KBG first circulated held the Indic origins of the Five Earlier Translations to command greater authority.

### ***Commentary Texts on the Thirteen Later Translations***

The rNying ma school categorizes its scriptures into two broad classes: "oral" teachings (*bka' ma*) and "treasure" teachings (*gter ma*). The *bKa' ma* teachings are held to have been continuously transmitted<sup>278</sup> by word of mouth since the time of their composition. The treasure teachings, in contrast, are believed to have been hidden in the eighth century for revelation by karmically-connected treasure-revealers (*gter ston*) at a suitable time in the future. The rNying ma *bKa' ma* category comprises commentaries written by both Indian and also Tibetan authors which have been largely omitted from the New Schools' canonical collections of commentarial works, (*bsTan 'gyur*).<sup>279</sup>

The body of texts brought together in the *bKa' ma* corpus has expanded over time. gTer dag gling pa 'Gyur med rdo rje (1646-1714), the founder of sMin grol gling monastery in central Tibet, in association with his brother Lo chen Dharma Śrī (1654-1717 /8) compiled the earliest known collection. rGyal sras gzhan phan mtha' yas (1800-?) produced a later edition<sup>280</sup> in the nineteenth century, when successive printed *bKa' ma* editions of nine and twenty-five volumes were created at rDzogs chen and dPal yul monasteries. The twentieth century saw the production first of an expanded (58 volumes) and then in the 1990's an extremely expanded *bka' ma* edition. The latter, totaling one hundred and twenty volumes, incorporates many rare texts from Ka' thog monastery in

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<sup>278</sup> In traditional Tibetan Buddhism, oral transmission by the master through reading a text out loud (*lung*) is viewed as a necessary preliminary to the disciple's study of a written text, which is also usually conducted with the aid of the master's oral exegesis (*khrid*). There is thus a continuing vital oral dimension even to texts that may have existed in written form for centuries.

<sup>279</sup> This is a simplified account; distinctions between *bka' ma* and *gter ma* texts may not always have been so clear. On this point, see Germano, History and Nature of the Collected Tantras of the Ancients, <https://collab.itc.virginia.edu/wiki/tibetantexts/history%20of%20ngb.html>

<sup>280</sup> Thondup 1986, p. 184.

eastern Tibet. Ka' thog, from the twelfth century onwards, was renowned for its emphasis on the study of *bKa' ma* texts.

Included in the Extremely Expanded *bKa' ma* (*bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa*; hereafter KSG) is a group of important commentaries on the Thirteen Later Translations. These are located in volume 103. After commentaries on three of the Five Earlier Translations<sup>281</sup>, there are commentaries (pp. 113-327) on the following texts: [*klong yangs*] *bDe 'byams*; *sGom don drug*; *rTse mo byung rgyal*; *Srog gi 'khor lo*; *sPyi gcod*; *rJe btsan dam pa*<sup>282</sup>, *bDe ba phra bkod*<sup>283</sup>. After these come commentaries on the remaining two of the Five Earlier Translations, the *Rig pa'i khu byug* and the *rDo la gser zhun*. Next there is a text entitled *gSang ba bde ba'i 'grel*. I discovered that this, in fact, is a commentary on the *Khams gsum sgron ma*, which I believe to be the same text as the *Yid bzhin nor bu*, and one of the Thirteen Later Translations that has not been hitherto identified.<sup>284</sup> Then follows a commentary on the *Rin chen kun 'dus*; two adjacent commentaries on the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, the first of which is titled *rDo rje gzong phugs kyi 'grel pa*; and finally, a commentary on the *sPyi bcings*, one of the texts hitherto deemed lost.<sup>285</sup>

Of the nominal thirteen texts of the Thirteen Later Translations, then, the rNying ma KSG contains commentaries on eleven. The absence of a commentary on the *Byang chub sems tig* may be connected with the occurrence of the two consecutive commentaries on the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, since I have established that the two texts are probably related.<sup>286</sup> The other text that occurs in Klong chen pa's list of the Thirteen Later Translations but lacks a commentary in the KSG is the *Thig le drug pa*. It is probably not fortuitous that these last two texts are among those which have until now been regarded as lost.

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<sup>281</sup> Namely, the *rTsal chen sprugs pa'i 'grel*; *Khyung chen lding 'grel*; *Nam mkha' che'i 'grel*.

<sup>282</sup> The *sPyi gcod* and *rJe btsan dam pa* commentaries are not listed in the volume index. (Vol. 103 fol. 1 /p.3)

<sup>283</sup> KSG vol. 103, p. 303. However, although one would expect this by its title (*Byang chub sems bde ba phra bkod kyi don 'grel*) to be a commentary on the *bDe ba phra bkod*, it is actually on a different text, the *Byang chub kyi sems de kho na nyid bde bas 'phra bkod pa*. The commentary ends with the name Yang dbang gter (=gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes), although it does not state explicitly that he is the author.

<sup>284</sup> See below p. 128 for a detailed discussion of this identification.

<sup>285</sup> This commentary is entitled *sPyi gsang sngags lung gi 'grel pa* and is attributed to gNyags Jñānakumara, but is listed in the volume index simply as *sPyi bcings 'grel*.

<sup>286</sup> See below p. 124 for a detailed discussion of this.

All of these commentaries are considerably longer than their source texts. For example, the commentary on the *sGom pa don drug /sgrub* which spans barely one Tibetan folio, is nineteen folios in length. The longest commentary, at twenty five folios, is that on the *rTse mo byung rgyal*. It is attributed to Sang rgyas Ye shes rin po che who is none other than gNubs Sangs rgyas Ye shes, the ninth-to-early-tenth century author of the STMG. He is also acknowledged as the author of the *rDo rje gzong phugs kyi 'grel pa*, which names him in its colophon as Yang dbang gter. A third commentary, on the *rJe btsan dam pa*, is also attributed to gNubs Sangs rgyas Ye shes.<sup>287</sup>

gNyags Jñānakumara, traditionally one of the three translators of the Thirteen Later Translations, is another early rDzogs chen master named in the respective colophons as the author of the commentaries on the *sPyi bcings*, the *sPyi gcod*, and the *Yid bzhin nor bu*<sup>288</sup>.

It would thus seem plausible that gNyags Jñānakumara wrote commentaries on works in whose translation he himself had a hand. Similarly, gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes was well-qualified to write commentaries on the Thirteen Later Translations, since he was obviously very familiar with them and quotes from them extensively in the STMG.<sup>289</sup> On the other hand, however credible, we cannot accept such attributions in colophons without reservation. Orna Almogi, focusing on three works of the eleventh-century rNying ma master Rong zom chos kyi bzang po, recently argued that colophons alone are often an unreliable source to determine the authors and translators of Tibetan Tantric works. She proposes to confirm colophon attribution through traditional catalogues and histories, which often give detailed information not available in the works themselves.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> The colophon wording (Fol. 36.3 /p.301 /2.3: *nges pa'i bstan pa don gyi snying po 'di / yang dbang gter la brgyud de bzhag pa yin* ) is slightly ambiguous, and could be read as either "this essential meaning of the definitive teaching was transmitted to [me] Yang dbang gter, and [I] set it down" or just as "this essential meaning of the definitive teaching was transmitted to Yang dbang gter and has been set down" [i.e. by someone else].

<sup>288</sup> Although as mentioned above, this commentary is entitled *gSang ba bde ba'i 'grel ba*, in its colophon it is referred to as *Yid bzhin nor bu*, and self-attributed to gNyags Jñānakumara.

<sup>289</sup> He also quotes from at least one of them in his earlier work, the *Mun pa'i go cha*. See note 250 above.

<sup>290</sup> Almogi, 2006, p. 118.

Unfortunately, as far as I am aware, there is very little such supplementary material on these commentaries.

One exception I have found is in the biography of Aro Ye she 'byung gnas. This records that he drew up a complete series of eighteen commentaries on each of the Eighteen Scriptures.<sup>291</sup> This famous twelfth-century master may therefore be the author of one or more of the extant *bKa' ma* commentaries that lack authorial attribution.<sup>292</sup>

Most of the commentaries include passages from the root text as lemmata, quoted in the order in which they appear in the original, and clearly marked as citations. The *rDo rje gzong phugs*, one of two commentaries on the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*<sup>293</sup>, is an exception. It does not differentiate quoted passages from commentary, perhaps due to the loss of highlighting (a method used to show quotations in some Dunhuang texts<sup>294</sup>) in a putative earlier copy. Unusually, the colophon mentions two names, Yang dbang gter who made the commentary, and Ācārya gSal ba rgyal, the author of the root text.<sup>295</sup> If this is correct, then we have a second historical personage associated with the composition of one of the Thirteen Later Translations<sup>296</sup>, in addition to gNyan dpal dbyangs.<sup>297</sup>

The KSG commentaries shed much valuable light on the Thirteen Later Translations. I frequently referred to them to help me resolve difficult and obscure passages. The *sPyi chings*, hitherto thought lost, has survived only through the KSG commentary's lemmata. I identified it on the basis of matching the citations from it in the STMG.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> *Aro ye shes 'byung gnas kyi lo rgyus*, KSG vol. 103, pp. 321-348. The relevant passage is on p. 341. 5-6: *sems sde'i skor ni sems smad bco brgyad las 'grel pa bcwa [sic] brgyad kyis gtan la phab pa dang/*

<sup>292</sup> This is an area that would probably benefit from further research.

<sup>293</sup> The *rDo rje gzong phugs* itself does not state that it is on the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*.

<sup>294</sup> See below p. 135.

<sup>295</sup> The Tibetan (Vol. 103, p. 398.2) reads: *A tsa rya gSal ba rgyal / tig 'grel rdzogs so / yang dbang gter gyis mdzad / rdo rje gzong phugs dpe las btags / /*

<sup>296</sup> The root text is simply referred to here as *tig*. However, I have found the citations in the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*. For further discussion of the *Byang chub sems tig* and *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* see below p. 125.

<sup>297</sup> On dPal dbyangs see above p. 57. For further discussion of gSal ba rgyal see below p. 144.

<sup>298</sup> See the discussion of the *sPyi chings*, below p. 132.

Although the commentaries were probably composed and first written down centuries earlier, they are now found in the later redaction of the various editions of the *bKa' ma* that began in the seventeenth century. In most cases, their cited readings (from the source texts) are closer to those of the sDe dge *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* than to the gTing skyes, mTshams brag or *Bairo rgyud 'bum* versions.

We can clarify the relationship between the sDe dge NGB versions and the KSG lemmata by closely examining a phrase from the *bDe 'byams*. The phrase appears in mTshams brag as: *don dam klong du gyur pas sems dpa' che*. The sDe dge text of the *bDe 'byams* is illegible between the syllables *don dam* and *sems dpa' che*, apart from just one word - *nyid*. This single legible word appears also in the KSG commentary, which reads: *don dam nyid du sems dpa' che*. This line is hypometrical, lacking two syllables. The missing syllables must have been either illegible in, or absent from, its source. This therefore suggests that the *bKa' ma* version of the text is based, directly or indirectly, on sDe dge.

***The Nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud,(Tb 40) and the Rin po che dang mnyam pa skye ba med pa'i rgyud (Tb 41)***

In the various editions of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* there is a group of texts whose title contains the phrase *khör ba rtsad nas gcod pa*. One of the group, the '*Khör ba rtsad nas gcod pa nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud*, Tb. 40 (hereafter Tb 40) in the *mTshams brag* edition<sup>299</sup> incorporates the texts of the Five Earlier Translations. They are in the following order:

- *Rig pa'i khu byug* (entitled *rdo rje tshig drug*)
- *sGom pa don grub* (entitled *zab mo don drug*)
- *rTsal chen sprugs pa* (entitled *rtsol bral rtsal drug*)
- *Nam 'kha' che* (entitled *yangs pa che ba drug*)

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<sup>299</sup> mTsams brag Tb.40, p.695.1-709.6 Taiwan edition Tb1.4499; sDe dge edition Dg. 121; Kaneko catalogue Tk.1.6; also *Vairo rgyud 'bum* Vol. 2 (Kha) Bg. 25.

- Six chapters entitled after various spheres (*thig le*)<sup>300</sup>.

Tb 40 is attributed to "the Indian abbot Śrī Siṃha" (*rgya gar gyi mkhan po shri singha*), and its translation to the Tibetan translator Vairocana. I return to this text below in my discussion of the *sGom pa don grub*.

Tb 41, part of the same series as Tb 40<sup>301</sup>, is entitled *Chos thams cad byang chub kyi sems rdzogs pa chen po 'khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa rin po che dang mnyam pa skye ba med pa'i rgyud*. After an introductory chapter, each of its thirteen succeeding chapters bears the title of one of the Thirteen Later Translations. However, with the probable exception of Chapter Ten, the *Yid bzhin nor bu'i le'u*,<sup>302</sup> these chapter headings do not introduce the actual texts of the Thirteen Later Translations. Instead, they are exegetical paraphrases of the original texts.

The thirteen chapter headings run as follows. I marked with an asterix those titles that are not found in any of the actual title lists<sup>303</sup>; I deal with these in the sections where I discuss the unlisted and missing texts below.

1. *Byang chub kyi sems rmad du byung ba'i le'u*
2. *bDe 'byam yangs pa'i le'u*
3. *Nam mkha'i rgyal po'i le'u*
4. *rJe btsan dam pa'i le'u*
5. *rTse mo byung rgyal gyi le'u*
6. *Kun 'dus rig pa'i le'u*
7. *Srog gi 'khor lo'i le'u*
8. *Byang chub sems myu gu'i le'u\**

<sup>300</sup> These chapters seem to be linked to one of the missing texts from among the Thirteen Later Translations, the *Thig le drug pa*. Its association with the Five Earlier Translations here is noteworthy; for more detailed discussion of the *Thig le drug pa*, and its status as "the head" of the Thirteen Later Translations see below p. 118.

<sup>301</sup> mTshams brag Tb 41 p.709.6-727.2; Taiwan edition Tb1.4500; sDe dge edition Dg. 123; Kaneko catalogue Tk.1.7; also *Vairo rgyud 'bum* Vol. 2(Kha) Bg. 26.

<sup>302</sup> On this chapter, see below, p. 129.

<sup>303</sup> On the title lists, see below, p. 88.



9. *Yid bzhin nor bu'i le'u*
10. *bDe ba phra bkod kyi le'u*
11. *Theg pa spyi gcod kyi le'u*
12. *sKye med tig gi le'u*
13. *Khams gsum sgron ma'i le'u\**

The colophon of Tb 41 attributes the translation of the root texts<sup>304</sup> to Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana, like Tb 40. However, it also names the author of this text: "[I] Nyi ma rDo rje the novice monk of gNyi ba made (this), on the Five Earlier Translations and Thirteen Later Translations' tantras".<sup>305</sup> According to the the fifteenth-century *Blue Annals*, there was a disciple of Zhig po of dBus (who died in 1195) called sNye<sup>306</sup> ston Nyi ma rdo rje.<sup>307</sup> If he is the author of Tb 41<sup>308</sup>, this would give a compilation date in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century for Tb 41.

Tb 41 is found in the 12th-century redaction of the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*. The *Vairo rgyud 'bum* groups these texts with others in a group of twenty texts in total, under a title page that reads: "*chos thams cad nam mkha' dang mnyam pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud bzhugs so rdzogs chen rgyud do*".<sup>309</sup> However, the *Vairo rgyud 'bum* version of the *Rin po che dang mnyam pa skye ba med pa'i rgyud* (equivalent to Tb 41) does not give a redactor in the colophon.

<sup>304</sup> The colophon states "The Indian Ācārya Śrī Siṃha and the Tibetan translator Vairocana translated [it /them]" (*rgya gar gyi mkhan po Shri Singha dang / bod kyi lo tsa ba bai ro tsa nas bsgyur ba'o*). Thus it does not specify whether this translation refers to the text itself or the original root texts. I deduce that it is the latter and that the rest of the colophon refers to the author of the text itself.

<sup>305</sup> Tb 41 727.2: *snga 'gyur lnga dang phyi 'gyur bcu gsum gyi rgyud la gnyi ba'i ban chung nyi ma rdo rje byas pa*.

<sup>306</sup> F.W. Thomas tentatively equates gNyi ba with the tribal division sNyi ba ; Thomas F.W. 1950-63, Index of Tibetan proper names, p. 52

<sup>307</sup> Roerich 1988, p. 85

<sup>308</sup> And possibly also Tb 40.

<sup>309</sup> These include a group of four whose titles all begin with the word *ye shes* (Bg.27-30): *Ye shes mdzod chen chos kyi dbyings*; *Ye shes gsal ba chos kyi dbyings*; *Ye shes 'bar ba chos kyi dbyings*, *Ye shes sa gcig chos kyi dbyings*. These are found also in mTshams brag vol. 3 (ga), as Tb 65-68. There are also five further related texts, whose titles all end with the word *man ngag*, that I have not so far located elsewhere. These are the six texts from Bg 31 (*'Khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa gtan tshig 'khor lo'i man ngag*) to Bg 36.

I have established that the *Rin po che dang mnyam pa skye ba med pa'i rgyud*/ Tb 41 is linked to one of the first works in the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*. This text, entitled '*Bras bu rin po che dang mnyam pa'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel*', also called *Rin po che za ma tog 'bar ba* in its colophon<sup>310</sup>, is a commentary on Tb 41 that contains the titles of the Thirteen Later Translations, exactly as they appear in Tb 41. The inclusion of a commentary on Tb 41 here, in what was probably part of the earliest and most revered core of the proto-collection that formed the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, implies that Tb 41 itself was probably composed in the twelfth century, at the latest. This would accord well with my proposed identification of its author as Nye ston Nyi ma rdo rje.

### ***The Eighteen Songs of Realization***

Another work related to the Thirteen Later Translations that also belongs to the rNying ma *bKa' ma* is the *Sems sde bco brgyad kyi dgongs pa rig 'dzin rnams kyis rdo rje'i glur bzhengs pa*. It is included in the longer versions of the rNying ma *bKa' ma*<sup>311</sup>, and in 'Jam mgon kong sprul's famous nineteenth-century *gDams ngag mdzod*.<sup>312</sup>

'Jigs med gling pa, in his record of the teachings and transmissions he received, says that the eighteen songs in this work were used in a ritual whose lineage goes back to gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes and before.<sup>313</sup> In the context of an elaborate empowerment ceremony called *Rig pa'i rtsal dbang*, each song was introduced with a special instruction and guidance.<sup>314</sup> The songs are also included in the *rDzogs chen sde gsum*, a popular "treasure" or revealed teaching of mChog gyur gling pa (1829–1870).<sup>315</sup>

<sup>310</sup> *Vairo rgyud 'bum* vol. 1, p. 121.1 to p. 127.3.

<sup>311</sup> *rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, vol. Tsa, pp. 21–32.

<sup>312</sup> *Dam ngag mdzod* vol. 1 p. 170 ff.

<sup>313</sup> See the online transcription of this text by Sam van Schaik at <http://earlytibet.com/about/earrings/> "*Thob yig* of the initiation of the dynamic energy (*rtsal dbang*) of *sems sde*: From the writings of g.Yung-ston rDo-rje dPal-bzang-po, the direct anointment (*rgyal thabs spyi blugs*) of The Great Perfection, transmission of the initiation of *rig pa*'s dynamism in the eighteen mother and son *sems sde* texts."

<sup>314</sup> Kunzang 2006, p. 52.

<sup>315</sup> Kunzang, *loc. cit.*

Each song is a short poem nominally linked to the realization of the ultimate meaning of one of the Eighteen Scriptures by a series of figures from early rDzogs chen lineage lists. Each is followed by a two-line citation of another rDzogs chen master or text. The table below summarises the main features.<sup>316</sup>

Text title	Song uttered by	Location	Subsequent 2 line citation
Khyung chen	Dhahena Talo	Sandalwood Forest <sup>317</sup>	Bhāṣi the ṛṣi
Rig pa'i khu byug	Rājahasti	Sandalwood forest of Gorshikha <sup>318</sup>	Śrī Siṃha
Nam mkha' che	Sarani	Garden of Uḍumbara flowers <sup>319</sup>	Āryadeva
Thig le drug pa	Nāgarāja	Ocean Depth <sup>320</sup>	The Spontaneous Prophecy <sup>321</sup>
rTsal chen	Kukkurāja	Ocean Isle <sup>322</sup>	Āryadeva
Sems sgom	Nāgārjuna	Garlanded forest of Glorious Mountain <sup>323</sup>	White Crystal garland Precept <sup>324</sup>
rMad byung	Kukkurāja the younger	Shore of the ocean	The Vajra Mound <sup>325</sup>
Yid bzhin nor bu	Bodhi the yākshiṇi <sup>326</sup>	[None given]	Mahārahula
rTse mo byung rgyal	Buddhamati the courtesan	Among trees where birds alight <sup>327</sup>	Mahāguru <sup>328</sup>
sPyi gcod	Mañjuśrīmitra the younger	Base of a nyagrodha tree <sup>329</sup>	the Subsequent Scripture <sup>330</sup>

<sup>316</sup> Proper names and English titles of the two-line sources are, except for the addition of diacritical marks, as given in Kunsang, 2006 p. 53 ff.

<sup>317</sup> *Tsan dan gyi nags tshal.*

<sup>318</sup> *Tsan dan go rshi sha'i tshal.*

<sup>319</sup> *Me tog u du mba' ra'i tshal.*

<sup>320</sup> *Rgya mtsho'i gting rum.* It seems to me that this should probably be understood literally as "in the depths of the ocean", the legendary realm of nāgas, where one would expect their king (Nāgarāja) to dwell, rather than as an actual place name.

<sup>321</sup> *Ma khol lung bstan.*

<sup>322</sup> *Rgya mtsho'i gling.* As in "Ocean Depth", this is probably a reference to a legendary realm rather than a real place.

<sup>323</sup> *Rgyan chags dpal gyi ri'i nags.*

<sup>324</sup> *Shel phreng dkar po zhes bya ba'i man ngag.*

<sup>325</sup> *Rdo rje brtsegs pa.*

<sup>326</sup> *Gnod sbyin mo byang chub.*

<sup>327</sup> *Shing nal byis la'i rtsar.* I find "trees where birds alight" less convincing than "beside poison trees". Jäschke gives "a kind of poison tree" for *nal byi*, for which he gives the *Padma thang yig* as his source.

<sup>328</sup> *Gu ru chen po*, literally "the great guru".

<sup>329</sup> *Shing n.ya gro dha'i rtsa bar.*

<sup>330</sup> *Lung phyi ma.*

sPyi chings	Āryapalo	Shade of a wish-fulfilling tree <sup>331</sup>	the Kingly Scripture <sup>332</sup>
bDe ba phra bkod	Dhahe the scholar of Uḍḍiyāna	Jewel Isle <sup>333</sup>	the Scripture of Great vastness <sup>334</sup>
Srog gi 'khor lo	Bhāṣita the ṛṣi	Nyagrodha Hermitage <sup>335</sup>	Swirling Vastness <sup>336</sup>
Rin chen kun 'dus	Princess Gomadevi	Hermitage of Conquerors <sup>337</sup>	<i>Amṛta Kundali</i> <sup>338</sup>
sKye med rang rig	Brilliance the King of Kaśmir <sup>339</sup>	Base of a sandalwood tree	The Rampant Elephant <sup>340</sup>
bDe ba rab 'byams	King Devarāja	City of Gunaśrī <sup>341</sup>	The Instructions of Vimalamitra <sup>342</sup>
Nam mkha' rgyal po	Dharmarāja	Flower garden	<i>Ṛṣi</i> the Seer <sup>343</sup>
rJe btsan dam pa	Buddhagupta	Great Hermitage	Great Scripture on meditation <sup>344</sup>

The first song labels itself with the Sanskrit term *doha*. A *doha* is a song of realization in the Indic tradition, a metric composition in rhyming couplets. Numerous collections of such songs, ascribed to individual early masters of the Mahāmudra tradition, survive in Tibetan translation<sup>345</sup>, but as far as I am aware, this is the only collection of (ostensibly) multi-authored early rDzogs chen *dohas*.

The pronounced stylistic similarity of the songs is more suggestive of single than multiple authorship. There is a large amount of formulaic near-or-actual repetition. For example, songs 1- 4 and 9 have only slight variations of the phrase "for when this body,

<sup>331</sup> *Dpag bsam shing gi grib ma la.*

<sup>332</sup> *Lung gi rgyal po.*

<sup>333</sup> *Rin po che'i gling.*

<sup>334</sup> *Rgya lung chen mo.* An alternative translation of this title is "Great Chinese Scripture".

<sup>335</sup> *Nya gro dha'i dgon pa.*

<sup>336</sup> *Klong chen 'khyil ba zhe bya ba'i man ngag.*

<sup>337</sup> *Rgyal ba'i dgon gnas.*

<sup>338</sup> Kunsang has opted to translate the Tibetan title (*dbud rtsi 'khyil ba*) to a putative Sanskrit one here. In English, on the pattern of his preceding title, it would be "Swirling Nectar."

<sup>339</sup> *Kha che'i rgyal po rab snang.*

<sup>340</sup> *Glang po rab 'bogs.*

<sup>341</sup> *Grong khyer dpal yon.* Literally, "the city of glorious qualities" – perhaps a generic abode of the king of the gods (*devarāja*)?

<sup>342</sup> *Dri med bshes gnyen gyi man ngag.*

<sup>343</sup> *Phags pa drang srong mig gi man ngag.*

<sup>344</sup> *Sgom lung chen mo.*

<sup>345</sup> See Dowman, 1985. The most famous collection of songs of realisation authored in Tibetan are those of Milarepa, see Chang, 1999.

an illusion, crumbles into dust, the light rays of Samantabhadra's mind will dawn within me". Songs 6, 7, 8 and 16 all contain two lines describing the fate of the singer's body.<sup>346</sup> Hence I suspect that these songs were composed or redacted by a single author.<sup>347</sup> It is therefore quite improbable that the songs are the work of the various early rDzogs chen adepts whose names are attached to them.

The two-line citations which follow each song are slightly more diverse in form and vocabulary than the songs themselves. Yet, there are also similarities between them, and in at least one case a whole phrase is repeated in the same position.<sup>348</sup> Four of the citations following the first five songs are attributed to named figures, rather than works. The remaining one springs from an unidentified "spontaneous prophecy". The sixth citation stems from the *White Crystal Garland Precept*. This is probably the text of the same title that 'Jigs med gling pa refers to in his record of the teachings he received.<sup>349</sup> It is also cited several times by Sle lung rje drung Bzhad pa'i rdo rje (1697-1742) in a work he wrote on protector deities.<sup>350</sup>

The next source is the *rGya lung chen mo*. One or several works with a very similar title, *rGya lung chen po*, are quoted in the STMG. One is attributed to Hvashang Moheyan/Mahāyāna, as "*Maha yan gyi bsam gtan rgya lung chen po*"<sup>351</sup> On another occasion, the attribution is to Dharmottara. As Karmay notes, a similar work by the same

<sup>346</sup> Numerous other examples of repetition could be mentioned, e.g. of the word *'khums*, here meaning "understood" or "realised" in nine of the songs; the appearance of the unusual collocation *dbye thang* (empty plain) in nos. 10 and 14.

<sup>347</sup> There is also a hint that they were through-composed - that is, composed as a sequence. Song 14, in which Gomadevi equates the mystic letter *A* with "the mind of all the Buddhas", resembles similar discourse in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. The *Prajñāpāramitā*-derived theme of the non-duality of Emptiness and form or manifestation is prominent in song 15. Another hint at sequential composition is the occurrence of the phrase "remain in the state of the sky" (*nam mkha'i ngang du gnas*) both in the two line quotation at the end of song number twelve and in the source text of the song that immediately follows it, the *Srog gi 'khor lo*.

<sup>348</sup> The phrase *rnal mar shog* occurs both at the end of song 1 and song 15.

<sup>349</sup> See van Schaik, 2000.

<sup>350</sup> *Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho'i rnam par thar pa cha shas tsam brjod pa sngon med legs bshad* (TBRC: P675); its short title is *Dam can bstan srung gi rgya mtsho*.

<sup>351</sup> "Moheyan's [work on] *dhyāna*, the Great Chinese Scripture." Cited in the STMG p. 173.5. The *rGya lung chen po* (without attribution) is cited also at p. 19.2, p. 173.5, and p. 177.6. There is an additional citation simply from *rgya lung* on p. 179.1.

author is mentioned in the IDan dkar monastic library catalogue of translated Buddhist works, which dates to 812 C.E.<sup>352</sup>

*Glang po rab 'bogs* is the title of a Mahāyoga tantra.<sup>353</sup> *Amṛta Kundali* is the name of a subsidiary deity, one of the “ten wrathful ones” (Skt. *Daśakrodha*; Tib. *Khro bo bcu*) in the maṇḍala of Vajrakīlaya, mentioned in Nyang Ral’s religious history (*chos byung*) in a story of the reign of Srong brtsan sgam po.<sup>354</sup>

The songs and two-line citations are fairly consistent with other Mind Series texts. However, they frequently use terms such as *rig pa*, *ye shes zang thal*, and *ka nas dag pa*<sup>355</sup>, which are more characteristic of later rDzogs chen literature in the Instruction Series. This aspect, in addition to the inclusion of the citation from the *Crystal Garland Precept* suggests that their redaction does not substantially predate the twelfth century.

Furthermore, I have determined that these songs are virtually identical to a song sequence found in the *Bairo 'dra 'bag*<sup>356</sup>, the biography of Vairocana.<sup>357</sup> The principal difference is that the *Bairo 'dra 'bag* does not link these songs to the Eighteen Major Scriptures. In addition, the two-line citations after each song are also absent from the *Bairo 'dra 'bag*. So, the connection of these songs to the Eighteen Major Scriptures appears to post-date the *Bairo 'dra 'bag*.<sup>358</sup>

One may ask whether some of the figures credited with the realization of each of the Eighteen Texts<sup>359</sup> may originally have been their authors. If that were the case, then these songs would have been composed partly as a way to maintain their authors’ association

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<sup>352</sup> Karmay 1988, p. 95.

<sup>353</sup> Its full title is *'Phang lta bas bcad pa glang po rab 'bog gi rgyud*. Kaneko 221.

<sup>354</sup> See Samphel 2008, p. 258.

<sup>355</sup> *Ka nas dag pa* appears in the two line citation from the *sGom lung chen mo*, the “great scripture on meditation” after song number 18, on the *rJe btsan dam pa*. The term does appear three times in the STMG but is much more frequent (especially in its abbreviated form, *ka dag*), in Instruction Series texts.

<sup>356</sup> *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, vol. 8, p. 454.7 and following.

<sup>357</sup> There is an English translation of these songs in Palmo, 2004, pp. 62-69.

<sup>358</sup> Whatever criteria determined which song was linked with which particular text from the Eighteen, the “realizations” could fit any of them.

<sup>359</sup> Obviously this could not apply to those figures who appear to be non-human such as Nāgarāja.

with the texts. This measure would not have endangered their newly-asserted scriptural status as Buddha speech.

In principle, such a supposition seems reasonable. Many of the same figures are linked in the STMG<sup>360</sup> with various different approaches to rDzogs chen. In order to disseminate their own approaches, it is very likely that some of these masters were responsible for producing literary works, probably transmitted orally to begin with.<sup>361</sup>

However, such a neat hypothesis does not fit the evidence that I have collected about the authorship of the texts. For example, the *rTse mo byung rgyal* can be linked to gNyan dPal dbyangs<sup>362</sup>, but not to Buddhamati, in whose mouth the song is placed. Nor does Ācārya gSal ba rgyal, who may have authored the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*<sup>363</sup>, appear at all in this text.<sup>364</sup>

## Summary

This section examined the nature and development of early Mind Series doctrines and literature. After outlining the main features of the rDzogs chen system as it has been transmitted to the present, I weighed the claim that the Mind Series was contemporaneous with the Instruction Series. I brought forward new evidence of possible proto-elements within the Thirteen Texts of what became known as *thod rgal*. I also noted explicit references to *thod rgal* in a text that is quoted by the STMG. Nevertheless, I concluded that the evidence is still inconclusive for the early co-existence of all three rDzogs chen series.

Next, setting out the doctrinal context, I probed the possibility of the influence of Śaivite practices on early rDzogs chen. My view is that, if such influence occurred, it was most

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<sup>360</sup> In the interlinear notes, which were probably written by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes himself.

<sup>361</sup> See van Schaik, 2004, p. 198.

<sup>362</sup> See above p.60. However, it is conceivable that the “great guru” credited with the two-line citation attached to this song could actually have been dPal dbyangs.

<sup>363</sup> See above p. 69

<sup>364</sup> Unless gSal ba rgyal is an alternative Tibetan form for (kha che'i) rGyal po rab snang.

probably in the area of *thod rgal* practices. But, noting that the *rDo rje sems dpa' zhus lan* criticises those who have made vows to Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva, and yet still worship “mundane gods and nāgas”, I leave this question open for future research.

I then discussed the relationship between Chan and rDzogs chen. I showed how gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes distinguishes Chan from rDzogs chen, and contrasted this with the way later tradition addressed the issue. The STMG cites the *sPyi chings* on this matter, and I drew further on this text, to demonstrate its critique of those who mixed Sūtrayāna techniques with the Vajrayāna practice of the *Samādhi* of Suchness. Its criticism of such practitioners echoes that of the *rDo rje sems dpa' zhus lan* noted above.

The debt that rDzogs chen owes to the *Guhyagarbhatantra* in particular, and the Mahāyoga tradition in general, is well documented. I summarized recent scholarship on the theory that rDzogs chen began as a third stage of Mahāyoga. I examined the Dunhuang commentary on the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, showing that its two sections adopt different approaches to tantric discourse. I then cited passages from the Thirteen Texts to show how they incorporate tantric terms relating to the practice of *sbyor ba*, but emphasize that their teaching is what the *rTse mo byung rgyal* calls “the system of spontaneous union.”

I then scrutinized related early Mind Series texts. Starting with the Five Earlier Translations, I analysed their chronological relationship to the Thirteen Later Translations.

Next, I addressed the issue of the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* being an Anuyoga text rather than a rDzogs chen one. I pointed out the presence in the *rTse mo byung rgyal* of the (Anuyoga) maṇḍala of *Tshogs chen 'dus pa*. I argued that, at the time of the composition of the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* and the Thirteen Texts, there was as yet no firm distinction between rDzogs chen and what would later be classed as Anuyoga.



Through bringing to light a newly-discovered link between gNyan dpal dbyangs and the *rTse mo byung rygal*, I proved that this text existed, in some form, in the early ninth century.

I then discussed the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, the earliest source that cites the Thirteen Later Translations. I noted that the STMG quotes a *rDo la gser zhun* passage found only in the *Kun byed rgyal po* version of that text, and gauged the implications for the date of the KBG.

The *rNying ma bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa* proved to be a rich source of commentaries on the Thirteen Later Translations. Their colophons attribute them to well-known masters such as gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes and gNyags Jñānakumara. In addition, one colophon, that of the *rDo rje gzongs phugs kyi 'grel pa*, names the obscure early rDzogs chen master Ācārya gsal ba rgyal as author of its root text. Thus I was able to link another historical figure with the Thirteen Later Translations.

In examining two closely-related texts, Tb 40 and Tb 41, I discovered that Tb 41 contains paraphrastic expositions of the Thirteen Texts.<sup>365</sup> I established that both Tb 40 and Tb 41 probably date to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. I found that Tb 41 is also connected with the one of the first texts in the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, the *'Bras bu rin po che dang mnyam pa'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel*.

Finally, I determined that the “songs of realization” in the *bka' ma* text called *Sems sde bco brgyad kyi dgongs pa rig 'dzin rnams kyis rdo rje'i glur bzhengs pa* are virtually identical to those in the *'Dra 'bag chen mo*. The key difference is that the *'Dra 'bag chen mo* does not link them with the Eighteen Major Scriptures.

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<sup>365</sup> The single exception is the *Khams gsum sgron ma/Yid bzhin nor bu*.

## Concluding Reflections

The substantial corpus of Mind Series literature has, up until recently, resisted analysis of its historical, stylistic and doctrinal developments. This is partly due to the poorly-documented nature of the socio-political context over the two hundred years or so of its emergence, from the mid-ninth to the end of the tenth century. In this period the centralised Tibetan government came to an end, and along with it a strictly-controlled system of Buddhism set to suppress or restrict the dissemination of new ideas stemming from Mahāyoga Tantra.

rNying ma pa historians' accounts of early rDzogs chen defend it as an authentic Buddhist teaching that originated solely in an Indic tradition. This defensive stance was assumed in reaction to gathering criticisms of rDzogs chen by proponents of the New Schools from the eleventh century onwards. This frequently led to the tacit erasure of the association of texts with individual human authors, and in some cases to their attribution to a reduced number of highly prestigious figures such as Padmasambhava. Different doctrinal nuances, whether contemporaneous or not, were smoothed over. This resulted in a conflated and temporally-compressed picture of timeless homogeneity considered fitting for this teaching of primordially-present and accomplished perfection.

There are several possible approaches to addressing the problems that arise due to the obscure history of the Mind Series corpus. Firstly, one can interrogate the texts about the nature of their relationship with Mahāyoga. Are they so close to Mahāyoga that they are barely distinguishable from Mahāyoga texts, differing only or mainly in their emphasis on philosophical interpretation? The *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan* displays these traits, assuming and to some extent validating the reader's knowledge of Mahāyoga ritual and techniques.

We can also determine what specific aspects of Mahāyoga practice they reflect. For example, we can note whether they reference both the Development Stage (*bskyed rim*) and Perfection Stage (*rdzogs rim*). These two distinct stages emerged from an earlier less

differentiated flow of practice.<sup>366</sup> If they do reflect the Perfection Stage, we can consider what (if any) stance do they take towards the practices of union (*sbyor ba*) and liberation (*sgrol ba*). Do they mention Mahāyoga techniques only in order to reject them, and if so, how strong is their rhetoric of rejection? Germano has argued that this rhetoric served partly to create a space in which rDzogs chen could define itself as a separate vehicle, distinct from and superior to Mahāyoga.<sup>367</sup>

The texts need also to be examined for influences they may show of other contemporary doctrines. Thus the *rDo la gser zhun* deploys Mind Only school terminology and doctrines, the *rTse mo byung rgyal* contains elements that came to be classified as Anuyoga, and several of the Thirteen Later Translations refer to both Chan and non-Buddhist (e.g. Śaiva) theories and practices.

One can also make a broad distinction between Mind Series texts that feature sūtra-style structure and those that do not. Those set out in a sūtra style have chapters, tend to be voiced by Buddha-figures, and are comparatively voluminous. Those not composed with sūtra-style structure are on the whole shorter and lack chapters. They also embody the advice and personal meditation experience of individual teachers, even if they (now) usually lack authorial attribution.

Close textual analysis reveals a similar pattern of development for many originally non-sūtra-style texts. Presumably, as they gained in prestige, and /or as the desire grew to establish their scriptural status, they often became encapsulated within expanded texts written in sūtra style. These texts were then called tantras. This happened, for example, with the *rDo la gser zhun*<sup>368</sup> which was later subsumed into the longer *Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i rgyud*.<sup>369</sup> The same process saw all of the Five Earlier Translations incorporated into numerous longer texts such as Tb 40, and, of course, the *Kun byed rgyal po*.

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<sup>366</sup> See Dalton 2004, pp. 8-9.

<sup>367</sup> Germano, D., 1994, p. 209.

<sup>368</sup> Its full title is *Byang chub sems bsgom pa rdo la gser zhun*.

<sup>369</sup> See Liljenberg K. 2008, *passim*.

Evaluation of the texts following these criteria, preferably in a polythetic manner, should allow us to construct a relative chronology within the framework of the few securely-datable texts and authors. This, in turn, will help us to map the historical development of early rDzogs chen.

## Part One – The Thirteen Later Translations

### *A Issues of Identity*

#### **i A Fluid Canon - the Texts as a Group**

Tibetan Buddhism, like Buddhism in general, is replete with lists of teachings and texts. The predilection in a culture where the aural dimension of learning is important for lists to generate further lists has been discussed by Gethin. He points to the practice of taking an item or category in an already existing list and explaining it by way of a structured "analysis" (*vibhanga*), which in turn can then be conveniently summed up numerically in a list. Such lists, of course, have an important mnemonic function.<sup>370</sup> They also, as Gethin remarks, inform and to some extent govern the structure of the literature.<sup>371</sup> In the context of Mind Series literature, the formation of proto-canonical text groups probably had the effect of consigning numerous works to relative obscurity.<sup>372</sup>

The 13 texts which form the object of this study are known in Tibetan Buddhism under several rubrics. They form a sub-group of what is known as the "Eighteen Major Scriptures of the Mind Series" (*sems sde lung chen po bco brgyad*).<sup>373</sup> Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer refers to this group in his twelfth century *Zangs gling ma* as the "Eighteen Marvels of the Mind" (*sems rmad du byung ba bco rgyad*).<sup>374</sup> Tb 41 gives them the same appellation (fol. 356.3)<sup>375</sup>. This label has also found its way into some English works.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> Gethin 1992, p. 155.

<sup>371</sup> Gethin 1992, p. 156.

<sup>372</sup> For example, the *Klong chen chos byung* states (vol. 2 p. 51.2) that there were seventy seven Mind Series texts in India, before going on to give a list of (nominally) eighteen that were actually translated in Tibet.

<sup>373</sup> Karmay 1988, pp.23, 24.

<sup>374</sup> See Kunsang 1999, p. 96, p. 246. Vairocana is here described as teaching the "Eighteen Marvels of Mind in fifty chapters". (*sems rmad du byung ba bco brgyad kyi le'u lnga bcu*). I have not come across any other reference to these "fifty chapters". It is possible that this may be the text entitled *rMad du byung ba* listed in vol. 2 of 'Jigs med gling pa's catalogue, and perhaps also part of the 100-odd pages noted as missing in the VGB.

<sup>375</sup> On Tb 41 see p. 70 and following.

<sup>376</sup> Kunsang, 2006, p. 46, p. 385

However, an alternative spelling seems to indicate some confusion between the identically-pronounced words *smad* (lower part) and *rmad* (marvel).<sup>377</sup> In the biography of Padmasambhava revealed<sup>378</sup> by Sangs rgyas gling pa in the fourteenth century, the first five texts of the group are referred to as "the first (literally "upper") part of the eighteen lower texts of the mind [series]". (*sems smad bco rgyad kyi stod kyi lnga*).

'Jigs med gling pa, in his catalogue to his seventeenth-century manuscript edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, describes text 36 in volume 2 as "The enlightened mind's marvels and so on, the thirteen later translated small tantras" (*byang chub kyi sems rmad du byung ba sogs rgyud chung phyi 'gyur bcu gsum*).<sup>379</sup> This can be interpreted either to mean that a text called "The Enlightened mind's marvels" was included among the thirteen later-translated "small tantras", or (less likely) that the thirteen small tantras and so on were themselves called "marvels". None of the extant texts entitled "The enlightened mind's marvels" that I have examined contain the thirteen texts.<sup>380</sup> In any case, this is the strongest indication that I have come across that the Thirteen Texts were ever compiled as a complete group.<sup>381</sup> I consider it unlikely that 'Jigs med gling pa would have been the first to compile them in this way, in the late seventeenth century.

The Eighteen Scriptures were internally divided into two sub-groups: Five Earlier and Thirteen Later Translations. Thus they were classified on the ostensible basis of chronological order of translation. This is an unusual basis, to my knowledge, for categorizing such a text group. Moreover, the fact that the overarching rubric of the

<sup>377</sup> The confusion may also have arisen due to proximity with the *rMad du byung ba*, a text closely associated with the Eighteen, and sometimes included among them.

<sup>378</sup> Its title in Tibetan is *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa las, yid ches shing khungs btsun pa'i lo rgyus shel gyi me long gsal ba*. I use the term "revealed" rather than "written by" as this is a *gter ma* or "treasure" text, traditionally regarded by the rNying ma school as composed by Ye shes mtsho rgyal in the eighth century C.E., rather than authored by its treasure-revealer (*gter ston*). For an extensive explanation of the *gter ma* tradition, see Thondup 1986.

<sup>379</sup> 'Jigs med gling pa, *rNying rgyud rtogs brjod*, vol. 13, fol. 334.4 (p. 669.4) of Adzom edition of his collected works. See also Achard 2002, p. 72.

<sup>380</sup> It may be relevant that vol. 2 of the VGB, after two texts which include *rMad du byung ba* in their titles, has the following note (p. 203.4): "between the last and the next tantra, the source copy says that there are just short of a hundred pages missing. (This) is redacted as in the original copy." It is just possible that these missing hundred pages included all of the Thirteen Later Translations.

<sup>381</sup> Unfortunately, 'Jigs med gling pa's manuscript edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* has been lost.

"Eighteen Scriptures" has persisted up to the present day testifies to its continuing importance.<sup>382</sup>

The so-called "five earlier translations" (*snga 'gyur lnga*) are attributed to the eighth century Tibetan translator Vairocana, and the thirteen "later translations" (*phyi 'gyur bcu gsum*) to the Indian Vimalamitra and others.<sup>383</sup> However, the difference in date between the translations of the two sub-groups of texts would seem to have been not too great, since Vairocana and Vimalamitra were contemporaries, according to tradition<sup>384</sup>.

Probably the earliest reference to the Eighteen Texts as a group is in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, by the tenth-century author gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.<sup>385</sup> However, this work confirms the suspicion that the number and designation of these texts (and of early *sems sde* texts in general), was for some time fluid and changeable, since it refers to them as "the twenty or eighteen minor Mind [series] texts "<sup>386</sup> It is important to note that the STMG contains no sign of the internal subdivision into five and thirteen texts. This suggests either that the division may have occurred some time after this work was composed, or alternatively, that gNubs chen did not consider it worth mentioning.<sup>387</sup> Since there were already two possible enumerations extant, between which he makes no distinction, I believe that gNubs chen himself is not likely to have been the person responsible for creating the rubric.

A later work of Sog bzlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan (b.1552) refers to a much larger number of eighty-two "*sems phran*" or "Minor Mind (series texts)", here differentiated from the Eighteen Major Scriptures.<sup>388</sup> So it seems that the designation "minor" shifted

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<sup>382</sup> The distinction between two sets of texts within the overall group of eighteen is reflected in another rubric: the "Eighteen Mothers and Children of the Mind Series" (*sems sde ma bu bco brgyad*). See Kunsang 2004, p. 244 (glossary).

<sup>383</sup> Karmay 1988, p. 24.

<sup>384</sup> Palmo 2004, p. 61.

<sup>385</sup> For details, see bibliography.

<sup>386</sup> STMG 33.4; *sems phran nyi shu'am bco brgyad la sogs pa*; translated in Karmay 1988, p. 97.

<sup>387</sup> If the division of the eighteen into two groups had already occurred, I surmise that gNubs chen did not subscribe to it.

<sup>388</sup> In vol. 2 fol. 258.4 of his *gsung 'bum*, the *bDag po rin po che'i chos 'byung la zhal snga nas blo bzang pas dgag pa mdzad pa*.

over time to the larger group of texts, presumably as the quasi-canonical status of the eighteen became more established.

Apart from the reference in the STMG, all the eighteen texts were generally dubbed "*chen po*", "great" or "major", rather than minor. However, two sources (the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* by dPa' bo gtsug lag, composed between 1545 and 1564<sup>389</sup>, and the biography of Vairocana, of uncertain date,<sup>390</sup> that is contained in the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*<sup>391</sup>) concur in subdividing them not into earlier and later translations, but as "five greater" (*che ba lnga*)<sup>392</sup>, "four smaller" (*chung ba bzhi*) "four medium" (*'bring*), and "four large-ish or greater class" (*che ba'i phyogs bzhi*). To this they add the *rMad du byung ba* as an odd-one-out, making eighteen in total. These designations appear to accord fairly well with the relative length of the texts.

The great fourteenth-century rNying ma scholar Klong chen pa regarded The Eighteen Major Scriptures as part of a larger set of twenty one Mind Series texts. This included three longer texts, the *Kun byed rgyal po*, the *rMad du byung ba* / *rMad byung rgyal po*, and the *mDo bcu*<sup>393</sup>. All three of these texts are traditionally claimed to be translations by Vairocana. Sog zlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan later contested this grouping, arguing that it was confused with a different grouping of twenty-one tantras.<sup>394</sup>

There may never have been a stable, universally-accepted doxography for our Mind Series texts. It will be helpful to bear this possibility in mind when we examine the title lists in further detail.

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<sup>389</sup> See Martin 1997, pp.88, 89.

<sup>390</sup> Germano 2005, p. 9. The biography, the last text in the final volume of the *Vairo rgyud 'bum* is clearly an addition, and probably post-dates the twelfth century redaction of the *Vairo rgyud 'bum* itself.

<sup>391</sup> *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, Vol. Ja, pp. 405-605; recently translated as *The Great Image*; Palmo 2004.

<sup>392</sup> These correspond to the Five Earlier Translations.

<sup>393</sup> Thondup 1984, p. 26; Klong chen rab 'byams, *Grub mtha' mdzod*, fol. 284 /p. 1169.

<sup>394</sup> Sog zlog pa, *op. cit.* fol. 259.4:- *khyed sems mad [sic, for rmad?] bco brgyad kyi steng du gsum bsnan pas sems sde nyer gcig tu 'dod pa ni nan ltar 'khrul lo.*



## ii Lists of the Texts

Karmay comments, in his influential 1988 work on rDzogs chen, on the considerable confusion that reigns over lists of the *Lung chen po bco brgyad* among rNying ma pa works".<sup>395</sup> The varying enumerations and listings of these texts may reflect the relatively unregulated Tibetan post-imperial period in which they were first formulated. They were also perhaps transmitted orally for a considerable time before being written down. A similar situation may have prevailed in the case of another roughly-contemporary grouping of texts, the Eighteen Tantras of Mahāyoga, whose constituent titles are by no means fixed in the early sources.<sup>396</sup>

The titles of the Thirteen Later Translations appear in numerous lists of the Eighteen Major Scriptures. The very fact that these lists were being redrafted repeatedly from at least the twelfth up until the late sixteenth or seventeenth century perhaps points to a perceived need to attempt to fix or standardize the titles contained within them. However, only Sog zlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan<sup>397</sup> explicitly discusses some of the inconsistencies or problems associated with the texts included in the Eighteen Major Scriptures.

For the purposes of this study I have examined fourteen different complete lists of the eighteen texts. The discussion that follows does not claim to be exhaustive, but suffices to throw considerable light on the evolution of the texts as a group and their individual careers. I give below a concordance table of the titles in these sources, arranged in rough chronological order.

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<sup>395</sup> Karmay 1988, p. 24.

<sup>396</sup> Also as with the Eighteen Texts, Klong chen pa is probably the most consistent source for the titles of these Mahāyoga tantras. See van Schaik, 2008 pp. 73-74.

<sup>397</sup> See below, page 95.

# Title List Concordance Table

	Nyang Ral 1	Nyang Ral 2	Jñāna Sherab	Bairo 'dra 'bag	O rgyan gling pa	Klong chen pa 1 & 2	Thugs mchog rtsal	dPa' bo gtsug lag	Sog zlog pa 1	Sog zlog pa 2	'Jigs med gling pa 2*	rNying ma bKa' ma
1.	Rig pa'i khu byug	Rig pa'i khu byug	Mi nub rgyal mtshan	Rig pa'i khu byug	Khyung chen lding ba	Rig pa'i khu byug	Nam mkha' che	Rig pa'i khu byug	Rig pa'i khu byug	Rig pa'i khu byug	Rig pa'i khu byug	Khyung chen
2.	rTsal chen	rTsal chen	khu byug	brTsal chen sprugs pa	sGom don drug pa	rTsal chen sprugs pa	Khyung chen	rTsal chen sprugs pa	rTsal chen sprugs	rTsal chen sprugs pa	rTsal chen sprugs pa	Rig pa'i khu byug
3.	Khyung chen	Khyung chen	rTsal chen	Thig le drug pa	Rig pa'i khu byug	Khyung chen lding ba	brTsal chen	Thig le drug pa	Khyung chen lding ba	bsGom don drug pa	Khyung chen rdzogs pa	Nam mkha' che
4.	rDo la gsar zhun	Byang sems sgom pa rdo la gser zhun	Khyung chen	Khyung chen lding ba	rTsal chen sprugs pa	rDo la gsar zhun	Rig pa'i khu byug	Khyung chen	rDo la gsar zhun	Khyung chen shog rdzogs	rDo la gsar zhun	Thig le drug pa
5.	Mi nub rgyal mtshan nam mkha' che	Mi nub rgyal mtshan nam mkha' che	Sems bsgom	Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan	Nam mkha' che	Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan	sGom pa don drug ma	Mi nub rgyal mtshan	Nam mkha' che	Nam mkha' che	Mi nub rgyal mtshan	rTsal chen
6.	Ye shes rma du byung ba	gNad du gyur pa	Byang sems glong gi rtsa ba	Yid bzhin nor bu	rJe btsun dam pa	rTse mo byung rgyal	rMad du byung ba	Yid bzhin nor bu	rTse mo byung rgyal	rJe btsan dam pa	rMad byung rgyal po	Sems sgom
7.	bsGom don grub pa	(OMITS)	mThar thug thig le drug pa	rJe btsan dam pa	Yid bzhin nor bu	Nam mkha'i rgyal po	Nam mkha'i rgyal po	Che (?) btsan dam pa	Nam mkha' rgyal po	Yid bzhin nor bu	Ye shes dam pa	rMad byung
8.	rJe btsan dam pa	rJe btsan dam pa	sPyi gcod	Yid spyod rgyal po	Rin chen kun 'dus	bDe ba 'phrul bkod	rDo la gsar zhun	sPyi spyod rgyal po	bDe ba phra bkod	Rin chen kun 'dus	Yang tig rgyal po	Yid bzhin nor bu
9.	sKye med ti la ka	Yang tig	rJe bstan theg pa'i rgyal po	Rin chen kun 'dus	rDzogs pa spyi spyod	rDzogs pa spyi chings	bDe ba 'phra skor	Kun 'dus rig pa	rDzogs pa spyi chings	rDzogs pa spyi gcod	Srog gi 'khor lo	rTse mo byung rgyal

	Nyang Ral 1	Nyang Ral 2	Jñāna Sherab	Bairo 'dra 'bag	O rgyan gling pa	Klong chen pa 1 & 2	rGyal sras thugs mchog rtsal	dPa' bo gtsug lag	Sog zlog pa 1	Sog zlog pa 2	'Jigs med gling pa 2*	rNying ma bKa' ma
10.	Srog gi 'khor lo	Srog gi 'khor lo	Yid bzhin nor bu	bDe 'jams	Byang sems bde 'byams	Byang chub sems tig	Byang chub sems tig	bDe 'byam	Byang chub sems tig	Byis pa bde 'byams	Yid bzhin nor bu	rDzogs pa spyi gcod
11.	Yid bzhin nor bu	Yid bzhin nor bu	Nam mkha'i rgyal po	Srog gi 'khor lo	Srog gi 'khor lo	bDe ba rab 'byams	Kun 'dus	Srog gi 'khor lo	bDe ba rab 'byams	Srog gi 'khor lo	Thig le kun 'dus	sPyi chings
12.	Rin chen kun 'dus	Kun 'dus	Thog tu phebs pa'i theg chen	Sems kyi ti ka	bDe ba phra bkod	Srog gi 'khor lo	bDe 'jams snying po	Sems ti ka	Srog gi 'khor lo	bDe ba phra bkod	Nam mkha' che rgyal po	bDe ba 'phra bkod
13.	Nam mkha' che rgyal po	Nam mkha' che rgyal po	'Phra bkod	Nam mkha'i rgyal po	rMad du byung ba	Thig le drug pa	rDzogs pa spyi spyod	Nam mkha' rgyal po	Thig le drug pa	rMad du byung ba	rTse mo byung rgyal	Srog gi 'khor lo
14.	rTse mo byung rgyal	rTse mo byung rgyal	Srog gi 'khor lo	bDe ba 'phra bkod	rTse mo byung rgyal	rDzogs pa spyi gcod	Yid bzhin nor bu	bDe ba phra bkod	rDzogs pa spyi gcod	rTse mo byung rgyal	bDe ba rab 'byams	Rin chen kun 'dus
15.	bDe ba rab 'byams	bDe 'byams	bDe 'jam	sPyi 'chings	Byang chub sems tig	Yid bzhin nor bu	rJe btsan dam pa	sPyi 'chings	Yid bzhin nor bu	Byang chub sems tig	bDe ba phra bkod	sKye med rang rig
16.	bDe ba phra bkod	bDe ba phra bkod	rTse mo byung rgyal	rDo la gser zhun	Byang sems spyi chings	Kun 'dus rig pa	sPyi rgyud spungs pa	rDo la gser zhun	Kun 'dus rig pa	Byang sems spyi chings	gTer chen yongs rdzogs	bDe ba rab 'byams
17.	sNa tshogs gter chen	rTogs chen	Kun 'dus	rTse mo byung rgyal	Byang sems myu gu	rJe btsan dam pa	rTse mo byung rgyal	rTse mo byung rgyal	rJe btsan dam pa	Byang sems myu gu	Lhun rdzogs spyi chings	Nam mkha' rgyal po
18.	bKa' lung gi spyi chings	Phyir chings	sPyi bcings	rMad du byung ba	(17 titles only)	bsGom pa don grub	(17 titles only)	rMad byung	bsGom don drug pa	bsGom don drug pa	Nam mkha' mtha' dbus rgyud (?)	rJe btsun dam pa

### *Sources that List the Eighteen Texts*

The famous twelfth-century rNying ma treasure-revealer (*gter ston*) Nyang Ral Nyi ma 'od zer<sup>398</sup> wrote two works that contain lists of the Eighteen Major Scriptures. The first is his hagiography of Padmasambhava, the *Zangs gling ma*<sup>399</sup>, and the second is his history of Buddhism in Tibet, the *Me tog snying po*.<sup>400</sup> Which of these two works is earlier has yet to be determined, although Martin dates the latter text to the late 1100's.<sup>401</sup> Doney believes the *Me tog snying po* to come later, probably towards the end of Nyang Ral's life (1124–96).<sup>402</sup>

The titles, order, and descriptions in Nyang Ral of our 18 texts are clearly derived from the same source. However, the *Me tog snying po* titles show more abbreviation, and also signs of possible corruption.<sup>403</sup> The fact that the *Me tog snying po* list gives only seventeen titles supports its later date.<sup>404</sup>

Nyang Ral in both works accompanies each title with a very brief description of the purpose or content of each text. These descriptions correspond almost *verbatim* in both of his works, a useful confirmation that we are dealing with the same text where variant titles might otherwise leave some doubt (as in nos. 17 and 18 in his lists). These descriptions also help us to identify unlocated texts, as I show below.<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> According to Dudjom Rinpoche 1991, p. 756, he lived from 1136–1204.

<sup>399</sup> Found in Jamgon Kongtrul's *Rin chen gter mdzod* Vol.1, Paro, 1976 p.78.4–p.79. The *Zangs gling ma* is available in an English translation; see Kunsang 2004.

<sup>400</sup> *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* pp. 320–321.

<sup>401</sup> Martin 1997, p.30.

<sup>402</sup> Doney, personal communication.

<sup>403</sup> For example, the *rMad du byung ba* becomes the *gNad du gyur pa*, a phrase otherwise unattested. We also see further distancing from the exact wording of the texts' titles in their characterisations (eg. the *rTse mo byung rgyal* is described in the ZL as *gzhaq pa kun gyi mchog gam rtse mo*, but in the MN as *mchog gi gtso bo*; the *bDe ba phra bkod* in ZL is *yon tan gyi phra yis spras pa* but in MN it is *yon tan gyi 'bras bu spud pa*.

<sup>404</sup> On this, see my discussion of the *sGom pa don grub*, p. 112.

<sup>405</sup> See, for example, page 128.

The next text I found which contains a list is the *Rin po che gdams ngag snga tshogs 'khor lo'i rgyud*.<sup>406</sup> This is said in its colophon to have been continuously transmitted<sup>407</sup> down to "me, Jñāna shes rab."<sup>408</sup> As Jñāna in Tibetan is *ye shes*, this may be Glan Ye shes shes rab, who was born about the end of the tenth century.<sup>409</sup> If correct, this would place it earlier than Nyang Ral's lists – it would then be our earliest extant specimen. However, its repeated reference to texts whose titles contain the phrase "cutting the root of Saṃsāra" (*'khor ba rtsad nas gcod*) probably implies a later date for this work.<sup>410</sup>

Its chapter two<sup>411</sup> lists the eighteen texts (with significant title variants). Alongside, it lists a number of titles containing the phrase "cutting the root of Saṃsāra" in text-cycles associated with each in turn – that is, the text-cycle connected with each one.<sup>412</sup> The text attempts, seemingly, to place them in the context of the Space Series (*Klong sde*). Each is described as "*glong (sic) dgu bam po nyi khri nas...*"

Apart from numbers 6 (*Byang sems glong gi rtsa ba*) and 12 (*Thog tu phebs pa'i theg chen*) the other titles are consistent with most other lists, and are less idiosyncratic than those in Nyang Ral.

Chapter twenty-one of the *Lo pan bka'i thang yig*<sup>413</sup> of the treasure revealer O rgyan gLing pa (1329-1367) also contains a list.<sup>414</sup> Like Nyang Ral's *Me tog snying po* list, it contains only seventeen titles. Furthermore, although closely mirrored in Sog zlog pa's second list, the constituent titles differ notably from those found in the lists given by Klong chen pa, to which I turn next.

<sup>406</sup> This is mTshams brag text 157 (Tb 157).

<sup>407</sup> From the mouth of dGa' rab rdo rje to Mañjuśrīmitra, and so on.

<sup>408</sup> He is also associated with the related "subsequent tantra" (*rgyud phyi ma*), which concerns practice with subtle channels (*rtsa*) and winds (*lung*).

<sup>409</sup> See Dan Martin's online biographical database – part 1. Based on a title published in 1992, *Gangs chen mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*.

<sup>410</sup> See above p. 72, where I propose a twelfth century date for Tb 41, one of the *'khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa* text group.

<sup>411</sup> p. 627 / fol.113v.7. The chapter title is *'khor lo bco brgyad kyi gdams ngag gnang ba'i le'u*.

<sup>412</sup> Further research into these cycles could potentially shed useful light onto the doxographical development of rDzogs chen in the eleventh to twelfth century.

<sup>413</sup> This is one of the *Five Chronicles* (*bKa' thang sde lnga*).

<sup>414</sup> pp. 730.6-731.3.

Klong chen pa or Klong chen rab 'byams pa (1308-1364) is probably the most respected master in the entire rNying ma tradition. He is a particularly pivotal figure for the later history of the Great Perfection. There are two lists of the Eighteen Texts in his works, one in the autocommentary to his *Chos dbyings mdzod*<sup>415</sup> and another in his *Grub mtha' mdzod*.<sup>416</sup> The two lists are, apart from minor spelling variants<sup>417</sup>, identical. This consistency, in addition to the general high level and reliability of his scholarship and his chronological position in the middle of the time-span over which the lists are spread, persuaded me to use Klong chen pa's lists as a benchmark for my general approach to the study of the texts. I relied on them specifically for deciding which texts to include in my translation and edition.

The next source, rGyal sras thugs mchog rtsal, was once thought to be one of the many aliases of Klong chen pa, but recent scholarly opinion has now abandoned this stance.<sup>418</sup> His *Klong chen chos 'byung* contains a list of the Eighteen Texts. It is dated to 1369, or according to van der Kuijp, more probably 1422.<sup>419</sup> In any case, it is later than Klong chen pa, who died in 1363.

rGyal sras thugs mchog rtsal's text-list is preceded by the assertion that in India seventy-seven Mind Series [texts] existed. The list of those that were translated in Tibet is followed by the phrase "Thus, the eighteen Mind Series tantras..."<sup>420</sup> However, this is actually another incomplete list containing only seventeen titles.

Unusually, he lists these 17 texts as part of the so-called "*rdzogs pa chen po phyi skor*" the "Outer cycle" of rDzogs chen. He includes in this category the main Dzogchen

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<sup>415</sup> The commentary is entitled: *chos dbyings rin po che'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa lung gi gter mdzod*, p. 349.5 in the *mDzod bdun*, Gangtok.

<sup>416</sup> *Grub mtha' mdzod* fol. 284 /p.1169.

<sup>417</sup> Klong chen pa's two lists only differ significantly on the spelling of the *sPyi gcod /spyod*.

<sup>418</sup> See Martin 1997, p. 58, and also Karmay 1988, p. 33 n. 45.

<sup>419</sup> See van der Kuijp 2007, p.130, p. 146.

<sup>420</sup> *Klong chen chos byung* vol. 2, p. 51.2. Interestingly, he associates them with a set of 18 instructions as well as one or more "Introductions"- (*de ltar sems sde'i rgyud bco brgyad /man ngag bco brgyad /ngo sprod dang bcas pa gnad*).

tantras, their explanatory literature, the *Kun byed rgyal po* and associated texts, plus miscellaneous categories of Space Series and Instruction Series.<sup>421</sup> Germano has studied the categorization of Dzogchen literature into four cycles (*skor bzhi*). He believes that the three lower cycles (Outer, Inner and Secret cycles) developed sequentially, culminating in the fourth cycle, the Unsurpassed Secret Cycle (*bla na med pa'i gsang skor*) also known as the *snying thig*.<sup>422</sup> He dates this development from the latter half of the tenth century to the first half of the twelfth.<sup>423</sup> For a text written in the fifteenth century, therefore, the *Klong chen chos 'byung* still employs rather archaic and unusual doxographical categories; this curious archaism is reflected also in its titles and ordering.

We now turn to a list found in the *Bairo 'dra 'bag* biography of Vairocana found at the end of the final volume (volume 8) of the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*.<sup>424</sup> Kapstein believes this collection is likely to derive from a twelfth century proto-rNying ma rgyud 'bum collection of the Zur lineage.<sup>425</sup> However, Kapstein also notes that the manuscript version of the biography "certainly has no original relationship with the other manuscripts comprising the *Bairo rgyud 'bum* itself, and thus should not be considered to be properly part of this collection."<sup>426</sup> In other words, the biography needs to be dated separately from the collection as a whole.<sup>427</sup>

Since the list of the Eighteen Texts in the *Bairo 'dra 'bag*<sup>428</sup> corresponds closely to that found in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, a work begun in 1545,<sup>429</sup> I consider the two lists together.

<sup>421</sup> Clemente and Norbu 1999, pp. 250-255 sets out some of this text's unusual doxographical material.

<sup>422</sup> The fourth cycle in the *Klong chen chos byung* is called the *rdzogs chen ke'u tshang skor*.

<sup>423</sup> Germano 2005, p. 14.

<sup>424</sup> Leh 1971, Vol. Ja, pp. 405-605. See also Palmo 2004, pp. 117-118.

<sup>425</sup> Kapstein, 2008.

<sup>426</sup> Kapstein *op. cit.* p. 278 n. 12. Kapstein does not discuss his reasons for this opinion. However, I assume it is based on codicological reasons: the *Vairo 'dra 'bag* is an *dbu med* manuscript at the end of eight volumes all written in *dbu chen*.

<sup>427</sup> The story of Vairocana contained in a text (adjoining the *sNying gi nyi ma*) entitled *Man ngag bshad pa'i bshad thabs*, in volume one of the *Vairo rgyud 'bum* seems to form an important part of the background for the *Bairo 'dra 'bag* version. See Kapstein, *op. cit.* pp. 279-280.

<sup>428</sup> *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, Leh 1971, Vol. 8, pp. 405-605; the list begins on p. 519.4.

<sup>429</sup> According to Dan Martin it was written between 1545-1564; see Martin 1997, p. 88.

Lipman holds that the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*<sup>430</sup> contains only seventeen titles.<sup>431</sup> However, the text in fact completes its list of eighteen by supplementing it with the *rMad du byung ba*. The titles listed, and their order, exactly match those in the *Bairo 'dra bag*. Both lists include short descriptions of each text which are essentially the same, although the wording in the *Bairo 'dra bag* is more circumlocutory. It is noteworthy that both sources link the *sems (kyi) tig /ti ka*<sup>432</sup> under a single description with the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, a point to which I shall return below.

It is worth noting that these descriptions are not the same as those in Nyang Ral. In general, Nyang Ral is more concerned with what the texts impart concerning the real nature of the mind. The later text is more interested in how they show the superior status of rDzogs chen relative to other vehicles.

Both sources group the texts according to size. I have already touched on this method of categorization in my Introduction.<sup>433</sup> This attempt at a further subdivision of the texts seems to have been a limited phenomenon that was not taken up by other sources.

The list in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* is likely to post-date the *Bairo 'dra 'bag* as it abbreviates or condenses the descriptions given in the latter. However, the link between the two is clearly strong. It is likely that dPa' bo tsug lag either based his own list directly on that of the *Bairo 'dra 'bag*, or on some no-longer-extant source common to both.

As well as giving two lists of the texts, Sog zlog pa (1552–624), exceptionally, also discusses their doxography at some length. This he does in his polemical reply to bDag po Rin po che's religious history.<sup>434</sup> His first list<sup>435</sup> is identical<sup>436</sup> to those of Klong chen pa, underlining the influence of the great fourteenth-century scholar.

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<sup>430</sup> *Chos 'byung mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, 1959, Vol. 1 p. 221.

<sup>431</sup> Norbu and Lipman 2001, p. 138 n. 24.

<sup>432</sup> *Sems kyi tig* in the *Vairo 'dra bag*; *sems ti ka* in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*.

<sup>433</sup> See above p. 87

<sup>434</sup> *bDag po rin po che'i chos 'byung la zhal snga nas blo bzang pas dgag pa mdzad pa*; in Sog zlog pa's *gSung 'bum*, Vol. 2.

<sup>435</sup> *Op.cit.* fol. 256.4.



However, Sog zlog pa takes issue with the tendency (not just of his opponent in this particular debate but indeed of Klong chen pa and others) to add an extra three texts to the group of eighteen.<sup>437</sup> He states that by adding the *Kun byed rgyal po*, the *rMad du byung ba*, and the *mDo bcu* to the eighteen, a total group of twenty-one Mind Series texts is claimed to exist (*sems sde nyer gcig zhe su grags*). He objects that this grouping is wrong, and is due to confusion with a group of twenty-one texts of explanatory tantras.<sup>438</sup>

Furthermore, Sog zlog pa avers<sup>439</sup> that the following five belong in the Five Earlier Translations:

1. *Rig pa'i khu byug*
2. *rTsal chen sprugs pa*
3. *bsGom don drug pa*
4. *Khyung chen shog rdzogs*
5. *Nam mkha' che*

On the other hand, he asserts that the *rDo la gser zhun* does not belong in the Five Earlier Translations, as (its author) Mañjuśrīmitra kept it separate from the Eighteen texts.<sup>440</sup> He declares: "Generally, the Mind Series is composed of the Eighteen root Mind Series (texts), and the Eighty-two Minor Mind (series texts); and you should realize that the *rDo la gser zhun* is one of the members of the minor (texts)".<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>436</sup> Apart from his different spelling of Klong chen pa's *bsGom pa don grub*, which he gives in its alternative form, as *don drug*.

<sup>437</sup> His objection does not seem to have been a unanimous one - the extended grouping into twenty-one texts persisted, and is seen again in such later authors as 'Jigs med gling pa, as well as more recent works.

<sup>438</sup> *Op. cit.* fol. 259.4: *khyed sems mad (sic, for rmad?) bco brgyad kyi steng du gsum bsnan pas sems sde nyer gcig tu 'dod pa ni nan ltar 'khrul lo*.

<sup>439</sup> *Op. cit.* fol. 257.5.

<sup>440</sup> *Op. cit.* fol. 257.6: *de yang sems sde la /slob dpon 'jam dpal bshes gnyen gyis /rtsa ba sems sde bco brgyad khol du phyung*. Karmay also refers to this objection to the inclusion of the *rDo la gser zhun*; Karmay 1988, p. 24 n. 24.

<sup>441</sup> *Op. cit.* fol. 258.4

His second list is virtually identical to that of O rgyan gling pa. Both include a text called *Byang sems myu gu*. However, although Sog zlog pa's list of the Thirteen Later Translations includes thirteen texts, O rgyan gling pa's contains only twelve.<sup>442</sup>

Sog zlog pa also states that each root tantra has an "expanded tantra, mostly in the "*nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*" series. He describes these as "present in the mind of Vimalamitra" but translated in Tibet "as the appropriate time arose".<sup>443</sup> By this he probably meant that they were *gter ma* texts.

'Jigs med gling pa, in the first of two lists in the catalogue<sup>444</sup> of his edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, closely follows Klong chen pa, whose work he much admired.<sup>445</sup> He introduces the texts as tantras (*rgyud*) in this list.

On the other hand, in the same work, he gives a very different list. Here, he calls the texts "scriptures" or "statements" (*lung*) in eighteen parts.<sup>446</sup> This second list is very close to that in the *Zangs gling ma*, including its characterisations of each text, which are unmistakably based on those of Nyang Ral, although more concisely expressed.

There are, however, some noteworthy differences. Along with the list given in Nyang Ral's *Me tog snying po*, 'Jigs med gling pa altogether omits the *bsGom don grub pa*. He is therefore left with an incomplete complement of only seventeen texts.<sup>447</sup> He also gives some useful variants of some of Nyang Ral's obscurer titles.<sup>448</sup> Thus we see that even as late as the eighteenth century rNying ma authorities had access to and continued to disseminate widely-differing title-lists of the Thirteen Later Translations.

<sup>442</sup> He actually introduces his list with the phrase "these are the twelve later translations" (*phyi 'gyur bcu gnyis ni*)

<sup>443</sup> *Op.cit.* fol. 258.1-3.

<sup>444</sup> The full title of this work is: *De bzhin gshegs pas legs par gsung pa'i gsung rab rgya mtsho'i snying por gyur pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod dam / snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa rdzam gling tha gru khyab pa'i rgyan.*

<sup>445</sup> *Op. cit.* fol. 574.2

<sup>446</sup> p. 576.6/fol. 287v.6. The phrase he introduces the list with is: *lung bam po bco brgyad la...*

<sup>447</sup> He ends his list with the phrase "[these are?] the tantras limitless as the sky that show how the nature of mind is unconfined and unrestricted" (*sems nyid rgya chad dang phyogs lhung med par ston pa nam mkha' mtha' dbus kyi rgyud rnams so*).

<sup>448</sup> For example, he gives *gTer chen yongs rdzogs* for Nyang Ral's *sNa tshogs gter chen*.

Finally, I have included in my study three sources which contain a sequential series of the titles of the Eighteen Texts, even though not presented as a list as such. The first is the *Sems sde bco brgyad kyi dgongs pa rig 'dzin rnams kyis rdo rje'i glur bzhengs pa*<sup>449</sup> found in the *rNying ma bKa' ma*.<sup>450</sup> Its sequence of titles is not exactly paralleled elsewhere. It is noteworthy for including the *Thig le drug pa* among the Five Earlier Translations.

The second source is the *'Bras bu rin po che dang mnyam pa'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel* in the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*.<sup>451</sup> This is a commentary on Tb 41.<sup>452</sup> Its title series of thirteen texts begins with the *rMad du byung ba*,<sup>453</sup> including this text, at least by implication, with the Thirteen Later Translations. The titles match those in Tb 41, including its pair of otherwise unlisted works, the *Byang sems myu gu* and the *Khams gsum sgron ma*.

To conclude this overview of the title list sources, I have established the following apparent lines of transmission:

Nyang Ral →	'Jigs med gling pa no. 2
Tb 41 →	'Bras bu rin po che dang mnyam pa'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel
O rgyan gling pa →	Sog zlog pa no. 2
Bairo 'dra 'bag →	mKhas pa'i dga' ston
Klong chen pa →	Sog zlog pa no. 1 'Jigs med gling pa no.1

<sup>449</sup> See page 73.

<sup>450</sup> *rNying ma bka' ma*, Sichuan, Vol. Tsa p. 298ff. Translated in Kunsang 2006, pp. 53-74.

<sup>451</sup> VGB vol. 1, p. 121.4.

<sup>452</sup> Tb 41 is the [*'Bras bu*] *rin po che dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*, which sets out exegetical paraphrases of the Thirteen Later Translations.

<sup>453</sup> In contrast, the first text in the VGB, the *sNying gi nyi ma*, includes the *rMad du byung ba* with the Five Earlier Translations: VGB vol. 1 p. 3. 2.

### *Stable Texts and Fluid Texts*

The status of the *rMad du byung ba*<sup>454</sup>, a lengthy text in comparison to most of the other eighteen, is particularly fluid. It was sometimes included among the Eighteen, but often not. As noted in the preceding section, the *sNying gi nyi ma* in the Vairo rgyud 'bum associates it with the Five Earlier Translations, but the nearby '*Bras bu rin po che dang mnyam pa'i rgyud kyi dka' grel* discusses it alongside the Thirteen Later Translations. This disagreement points towards an uncertain doxographical standing from at least the twelfth century.

Nyang Ral<sup>455</sup>, rGyal sras thug mchog rtsal, and 'Jigs med gling pa in his second list, juxtapose the *rMad du byung ba* between the Five Earlier Translations and the Thirteen Later ones. This position, number six of the eighteen, was an inherently volatile one, since five or six different titles jostle for it through the various lists.<sup>456</sup> It also occurs in another unstable slot, position eighteen, in the *Bairo 'dra 'bag* and the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*.

Klong chen pa removed this title from his lists of the Eighteen Major Scriptures. He included it among the group of three supplemental texts that he attributes also to Vairocana's translation, namely, the *Kun byed rgyal po*, the *rMad du byung ba*, and the *mDo bcu*. Despite the influence of Klong chen pa, this transfer was not to become permanent, as almost immediately the title returned among the thirteen texts in rGyal sras

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<sup>454</sup> The *rMad du byung ba* is found in mTshams brag Vol. 2 Tb.56, fols. 774-856; also Bg. vol.2 fols.105-171. As this text is not firmly-established as one of the Thirteen Later Translations, it is not included in those I have selected for edition and translation. Furthermore, an English translation under the title *The Marvellous Primordial State* is reported to be forthcoming from the Ka-Ter translation project, published by the Shang Shung Institute. A translation of the *mDo bcu* by Jim Valby is also forthcoming.

<sup>455</sup> It appears as *gNad du gyur pa* in the *Me tog snying po* list. As far as I know this is the sole occurrence of this variant. As the words *byung* and *gyur* are written very similarly in Tibetan script, this might be an error due to careless copying. However, the substitution of *gnad* for *rmad* is unlikely to have happened due to visual error, and may be an aural mistake. In either case, such corruption of the title would support a later date for the *Me tog snying po* list.

<sup>456</sup> Namely, the *rMad du byung ba*, *Yid bzhin nor bu*, *rJe btsan dam pa*, *rTse mo byung rgyal*, and *Sems sgom* (i.e. *rDo la gser zhun*). See title concordance table.

thugs mchog rtsal's list. Nor did Sog zlog pa accept the addition of three more texts to the group.

Another text with a variable history was the *rDo la gser zhun*.<sup>457</sup> I discussed this text already in the context of the Five Earlier Translations.<sup>458</sup> Although listed among the *sgna 'gyur lnga* by Nyang Ral, most of the later lists count it as one of the Thirteen Later Translations. The *rDo la gser zhun* differed from the other four in general character and, especially, in its attribution to a named author, the Indian Mañjuśrīmitra. This prompted Sog zlog pa to assert that it belonged among the eighty-two minor Mind Series texts.

When we see this title dislodged from the Five Earlier Translations, its place is taken either by the *Thig le drug pa*, or the *sGom [pa]don drug [=grub] pa*.<sup>459</sup> Both of these texts are among those thought to have been lost, which is probably linked to their unstable position. I offer an argument for their identification below.

The *bsGom don grub pa* appears in Nyang Ral's *Zangs gling ma* list, but the *Me tog snying po* omits it, and thus has an incomplete total of only seventeen titles.<sup>460</sup> The disappearance of this text from the *Me tog snying po* could perhaps mean that it had gotten lost in the interval between the composition of the *Zangs gling ma* and the *Me tog snying po*, that is, in the second half of the twelfth century. However, this supposition is not conclusive, since simple scribal error or faulty memory could have led to its omission from the *Me tog snying po*.

Klong chen pa reinstates the *bsGom pa don grub*, but places it as text number 18 - a position that was more fluid than most.

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<sup>457</sup> Translated in Norbu and Lipman 2001. This text is also incorporated into the *Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i rgyud* (Tb 37), which was the subject of my MA dissertation.

<sup>458</sup> See above p. 48.

<sup>459</sup> For example, rGyal sras thugs mchog rtsal includes the *rDo la gser zhun* as one of the Thirteen Later Translations, and the *sGom pa don drug ma* takes its place among the Five Earlier Translations.

<sup>460</sup> This is definitely due to its omission of the *bsGom don grub pa*, as all the other titles appear in the same order, although with some varying spellings.

dPa' bo gtsug lag in his *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* once again dismissed *bsGom pa don grub*, and reinstated the *rMad du byung ba*.

### ***Variant Spellings and Anomalies***

Comparison of Nyang Ral's second list (in the *Me tog snying po*) with his first (in the *Zang gling ma*) reveals several oddities. He replaces the *sKye med ti la ka'i lung* with the *Yang tig* ("Quintessence"). This is a title not found in any other lists except 'Jigs med gling pa's second one. The same title, *Yang tig* also occurs in the colophon of a *bKa' ma* commentary text attributed to Nyang Ral, entitled *rDo rje gzong phugs kyi 'grel pa*<sup>461</sup>

Another anomaly is the title Nyang Ral gives to text seventeen, *sNa tshogs gter chen*. This appears in 'Jig med gling pa's second list as *gTer chen yongs rdzogs*. It is not found in any other lists of the Eighteen Major Texts. Since he himself was a renowned treasure revealer (*gter ston*), it is tempting to speculate that the inclusion of the word "treasure" in its title,<sup>462</sup> may be due to Nyang Ral's desire to validate treasure texts by including them among the Eighteen Major scriptures of the Mind Series. He describes this text as "taught in order to show that all of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa originates in the expanse of the mind (of enlightenment)" (*sems kyi klong du 'khor 'das kun 'byung bar bstan pa'i phyr*). A possible candidate for this text is the (*rdzogs pa*) *spyi gcod*, which does not figure in Nyang Ral's lists, but is found in all of the others.<sup>463</sup>

The list in the *chos byung* of rGyal sras thugs mchog rtsal is, as we saw, incomplete. It omits the *Srog gi 'khor lo*, leaving it with only seventeen titles. However, it is mentioned

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<sup>461</sup> It is attributed to him under one of his recorded alternative names, Yang dbang gter. See below. p. 125.

<sup>462</sup> "Treasure" (*gter*) is replaced by "realization" (*rtogs*) in the *Me tog snying po*.

<sup>463</sup> In Klong chen pa's *Grub mtha' mdzod*, it is spelled *spyi spyod*, while the *'Dra bag chen mo* has *Yid spyod* and the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* gives *sPyi spyod*. This corruption or variation could be due to the titles being transmitted orally, since they sound a lot more similar to each other than they look when written down.

as part of a different category of texts, the "Inner cycle". In the same source, the *sPyi rgyud spungs pa* may be the same text as the *sPyi chings* of earlier and later lists.

Compared to Klong chen pa's list, we see that Sog zlog pa's revised list drops the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* and the *Thig le drug pa*. The *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, he states, "is one of the four classes of explanatory tantras; it is the '*nam mkha' dang mnyam pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud*'.<sup>464</sup> No explanation is given for omitting the *Thig le drug pa*. He then replaces the *Kun dus rig pa* of his first list with the *Rin chen kun 'dus* because "it [i.e. the former] is Anu (yoga)". The similarity of these two titles had probably led to them being confused.

To compensate for the two rejected texts, he reinstates the *rMad du byung ba* and the *Byang sems myu gu*, previously included only in O rgyan gling pa's list.

### iii Location and Order of the Texts Themselves

The redactors of the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* did not include any of the individual Eighteen Major Scriptures, either in their general tantric sections (*rgyud 'bum*) or in their limited selection of older translated tantras (*rNying rgyud*).<sup>465</sup> However, the KBG, which incorporates versions of the Five Earlier Translations, features in the *bKa' 'gyur*, where it is the sole representative of Mind Series literature.

The position and order of the texts as shown in the indexes of the various editions of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* and the *Vairo rgyud 'bum* help us understand how the texts were categorized and organized. Furthermore, the inclusion within their ranks of various texts

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<sup>464</sup> *Op.cit.* fol. 258.5-6: *nam mkha' rgyal po ni spyi'i bshad rgyud sde bzhi'i ya gyal / nam mkha' dang mnyam pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud zer ba de yin no /*

<sup>465</sup> I have checked all the titles in the online canon catalogues at [www.tbrc.org](http://www.tbrc.org) of the sDe dge, Lhasa, Urga and Narthang *bKa' 'gyur* tantric sections, and the sTog Palace *rgyud 'bum*, as well as the *rgyud* and *rNying rgyud* sections of the sDe dge *bsTan 'gyur*, the Co ne *bsTan 'gyur*, and the "Golden" *bsTan 'gyur* (*gser gyi lag bris ma*). This last edition, a rare eighteenth century manuscript, has a fourth section devoted to "early Tibetan works found in old catalogues".

not mentioned in the lists of Eighteen Texts provides clues about the identity of missing texts.

### *Texts in the Vairo rgyud 'bum*

The order of the eighteen texts in the *Vairo rgyud 'bum* differs significantly from that in most editions of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. The *Vairo rgyud 'bum* disperses them over several volumes, rather than grouping them mostly together in its first volume. The first four of the Five Early Translations<sup>466</sup> along with their commentaries feature in Volume Five.<sup>467</sup> The fifth, the *rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che*, appears in Volume Two, not directly associated with any other of the 18 texts.

If we turn now to the Thirteen Later Translations, we note that the *rDzogs pa spyi gcod* is the fifteenth text in Volume 1 (Bg 15), followed by the *rTse mo byung rgyal* (Bg 16). There follow four texts that are not part of the Thirteen Later Translations,<sup>468</sup> preceding the *bDe ba 'phra bkod* (Bg 21). The last text in this volume is the *gNam spar 'debs*, which I shall discuss shortly.<sup>469</sup>

I have not managed to locate the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* in the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*<sup>470</sup>, although it may appear under another title or be incorporated into another text.<sup>471</sup>

The *rDzogs pa spyi chings* is also absent from the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, as well as from the other *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* editions. The *Byang chub sems tig* of Klong chen pa's list is likewise missing, as are the *bDe ba rab 'byams*, the *Thig le drug pa*, and the *Kun 'dus rig*

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<sup>466</sup> I use Klong chen pa's lists as a basis to refer to here.

<sup>467</sup> As Bg.116, Bg.117, Bg.118, Bg.119

<sup>468</sup> Their titles indicate that two are tantras of Vajrasattva (Bg 17, Bg.18) and two are texts connected to the *Kun byed rgyal po* (Bg.19, Bg.20)

<sup>469</sup> On the *gNam spar 'debs* see p. 137.

<sup>470</sup> There are eight volumes in this collection.

<sup>471</sup> As noted above, Sog zlog pa removes this text from his list of thirteen and comments that it is the *Nam mkha' dang mnyam pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud*. There are no less than twenty texts grouped under this title in Volume 3 of the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*.



*pa*. However, since the *Vairo rgyud 'bum* frequently nests texts within other texts, these may yet come to light.

An example of such nesting is the *Srog gi 'khor lo*. The final part of this text, (including its closing title) is found in Bg 14.<sup>472</sup> Bg 14 seems to bear little relationship to the *Srog gi 'khor lo*. Somehow the *Srog gi 'khor lo*, in incomplete form, has been mispositioned here.

I also found about half of the *rJe btsan dam pa* incorporated in the *Byang chub kyi sems rdo rje 'od kyi rim pa* (Bg 90).<sup>473</sup>

Of the three "unlisted" texts included among the Eighteen in mTshams brag, the *gNam spar 'debs* is the last text in Volume 1 of the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*. The other two are absent.

In summary, I located five of Klong chen pa's 13 titles in the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, but two of those are incomplete. Although the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, due to its incoherent ordering and indexing, is not easy to work with, I believe future study will repay the effort, as more titles may gradually come to light.

Naturally, we need to ask ourselves why so many of the Thirteen Later Translations are absent from this important early tantric collection. Their omission is especially surprising since the rDzogs chen texts in this collection show little, if any, sign of doctrines postdating the Mind Series. It may be that the texts included here are predominantly connected with the work and /or lineage of Vairocana - hence the prominence of the Five Earlier Translations.

Since the Thirteen Later Translations were linked to Vimalamitra and his colleagues, it is tempting to speculate that at one time they may have been brought together into a separate collection associated with the Indian scholar. If such a hypothetical collection

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<sup>472</sup> This is entitled *rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che rtsa ba'i rgyud skye ba med pa*; *Vairo rgyud 'bum* Vol.1 fols. 315-316.

<sup>473</sup> *Vairo rgyud 'bum* Vol 4, Bg 90, p. 144.5 to 145.2; p.150.2-3. This is the same text as mTshams brag Tb 23, the *Mi nub rgyal mtshan rje btsan dam pa rdo rje 'od 'phro ba'i rgyud* - however, in the mTshams brag edition, this text is followed almost immediately by the *rJe btsan dam pa* itself (Tb25)

ever existed, it would perhaps have been pushed into obscurity through the rise of the *sNying thig* doctrines of the Instruction Series.<sup>474</sup> This would likely have happened after lCe btsun seng ge dbang phyug<sup>475</sup> revealed the *Bima snying thig*<sup>476</sup> in the late eleventh to twelfth century<sup>477</sup>. The rNying ma tradition links such *gTer ma* teachings directly with their original concealers, free of any corruption that might creep into orally-transmitted doctrines. Therefore, the *Bima sNying thig* would be regarded at the time of its discovery as more relevant than any older textual collections connected with Vimalamitra.

### ***Texts in the mTshams brag NGB***

Germano<sup>478</sup> believes that the mTshams brag edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, the largest now extant<sup>479</sup>, reflects independent Bhutanese editorial traditions.<sup>480</sup> It can be seen as emphasizing the integrity of the 18 texts, like the gTing skyes edition (which I discuss below), by keeping them together as a group. In this it differs sharply from the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, which appears to give greater weight to later expansions and commentaries. In addition, because *mTshams brag* puts the 18 texts in its first volume, it appears to accept the primacy of Mind Series literature in the rDzogs chen tradition. This contrasts with the sDe dge sequence, which prioritizes later traditions. For these reasons, the mTshams brag edition is a useful point of departure for analysis of the texts' early doxographical affinities.

In mTshams brag, the 18 texts follow after the *Kun byed rgyal po*<sup>481</sup>, the first text in the first volume. Tradition regards this as the fundamental tantra of the rDzogs chen Mind

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<sup>474</sup> However, 'Jigs med gling pa's edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* seems to have grouped the texts together, so a putative earlier anthology may still have been in existence in his time.

<sup>475</sup> A disciple of lDang ma lhun rgyal, the treasure-revealer of the Seventeen Tantras of the Instruction Series.

<sup>476</sup> On the rise of the *sNying thig* tradition, see Karmay 1988, p. 209-210.

<sup>477</sup> I do not mean to assert here that there is no material in the *Bi ma snying thig* that predates its revealer.

<sup>478</sup> In this respect, Germano contrasts it with the sDe dge and probably sDe dge-derived editions.

<sup>479</sup> It comprises 46 volumes, plus six additional ones found recently in China.

<sup>480</sup> See Germano, 2002 at <http://www.thdl.org/collections/literature/ngb/ngb-history.html>

<sup>481</sup> The *mDo bcu*, a text closely related to the *Kun byed rgyal po*, also precedes the Eighteen Texts.

Series.<sup>482</sup> Beginning with the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, I list below all the texts as they appear in the index:

1. *Rig pa'i khu byug gi rgyud* (Tb 19)
2. *rTsal chen gyi rgyud* (Tb 20)
3. *Khyung chen gyi rgyud* (Tb 21)
4. *Byang chub sems bsgom pa* (Tb 22)
5. *Mi nub rgyal mtshan rje btsan dam pa rdo rje 'od 'phro ba'i rgyud* (Tb 23)
6. *rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che rgyas pa'i yi ge med pa'i rgyud* (Tb 24)
7. *rJe btsan dam pa* (Tb 25)
8. *Mi 'gyur ba'i thig le tig* (Tb 26)
9. *Srog gi 'khor lo* (Tb 27)
10. *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* (Tb 28)
11. *rTse mo byung rgyal* (Tb 29)
12. *bDe 'jam* (Tb 30)
13. *bDe ba phra bkod* (Tb 31)
14. *Kun 'dus* (Tb 32)
15. *gNam spar 'debs* (Tb 33) \*
16. *bDe ba'i myu gu* (Tb 34) \*
17. *rDzogs pa spyi gcod* (Tb 35)
18. *Khams gsum sgron ma* (Tb 36) \*<sup>483</sup>

I have marked with an asterix those titles that do not generally appear in the text-lists that I discussed above.<sup>484</sup> I shall return to these when discussing the missing texts. The titles that are absent from mTshams brag, but included in Klong chen pa's lists, are the *rDzogs pa spyi chings*, *Byang chub sems tig*, *Yid bzhin nor bu* and the *bsGom pa don grub* - precisely those that have hitherto been held to be missing. The number of titles is raised

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<sup>482</sup> For a discussion of the importance and authenticity of the *Kun byed rgyal po*, see Neumaier-Dargyay 1992, pp.24-26.

<sup>483</sup> This group is followed by the *Byang chub sems bsgom pa'i rgyud* (Tb 37), an expanded and elaborated version of Tb 22, the *rDo la gser zhun*, which I have studied elsewhere

<sup>484</sup> With the single exception of the *bDe ba'i myu gu*, which O rgyan gling pa lists as title seventeen, and after him Sog zlog pa (in his revised list).

to eighteen through the inclusion of Tb 23, which I have mentioned above.<sup>485</sup> Tb 24, judging by its title, seems to be an expanded version of the *rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che*.

Two of the "unlisted" titles, the *bDe ba'i myu gu* and *Khams gsum sgron ma*, are included in Tb 41, a text that, as shown above, consists of a series of paraphrastic expositions of the Thirteen Later Translations.<sup>486</sup>

I think it likely that *bDe ba'i myu gu* was previously extraneous to the group of eighteen. It was probably imported to restore the overall number after the loss of the missing texts. In contrast, the *Khams gsum sgron ma* is an alternative title for the *Yid bzhin nor bu*, one of the texts presumed lost.<sup>487</sup>

### ***Texts in the gTing skyes NGB***

The gTing skyes NGB, like the mTshams brag, contains our texts in its first volume, which begins also with the *Kun byed rgyal po* and *mDo bcu*. However, the group of four texts whose titles include the phrase '*Khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa*' precedes the Eighteen Major Scriptures; in mTshams brag this group follows after them. Among these four, Tk 18 and Tk 19 are the same texts as Tb 40 and Tb 41. Thus, gTing skyes has texts belonging to the early exegetical tradition preceding the actual root texts of the Eighteen, while in mTshams brag the order is reversed.

In gTing skyes, the Five Earlier Translations are one title short, since the *rDo la gser zhun* has been moved to the end of the thirteen, as in Klong chen pa's list. The same four titles from Klong chen pa's list omitted in the mTshams brag edition are also absent here.

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<sup>485</sup> See n. 443.

<sup>486</sup> See above p. 70.

<sup>487</sup> See below p. 128.

I enumerate below the texts in the order found in the gTing skyes catalogue:

1. *rDzogs pa chen po sa gcig pa /s+wa sti dpal gyi dpal (Tk 20)*
2. *Khyung chen ldings pa*
3. *rTsal chen sprugs pa*
4. *rDo rje sems dpa'i lta ba*<sup>488</sup>
5. *bDe 'jam*
6. *Byang chub sems rtse mo byung rgyal zhes bya ba bsam gtan*
7. *Jje btsan dam pa*
8. *Kun 'dus*
9. *Srog gi 'khor lo*
10. *Byang chub kyi sems bde ba'i myu gu*
11. *bDe ba phra bkod*
12. *rDzogs pa spyi gcod*
13. *Byang chub kyi sems khams gsum sgron ma*
14. *Byang chub kyi sems mi 'gyur ba'i thig le tig*
15. *Byang chub sems nam mkha'i rgyal po*
16. *Byang chub kyi sems rtsal chen gyi rgyud*
17. *Khyung chen gyi rgyud rgyas pa chen po'i mtha'*
18. *rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che rgyas pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud*
19. *Byang chub sems sgom pa*

gTing skyes includes the *bDe ba'i myu gu* and *Khams gsum sgron ma* in position 10 and 13 respectively. They are two of the three "unlisted" titles that mTshams brag places contiguously with those of the Eighteen Texts. Although it omits the *gNam spar 'debs* (Tb 33), it does include it in its fourth volume.<sup>489</sup> Numbers 16 to 18 in the above list, judging by their titles, are tantra-style exegetical texts linked to works 2, 3 and 4.

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<sup>488</sup> This is an alternative title of the (*Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*) *rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che*.

<sup>489</sup> Tk vol. nga, text no. 6, fol. 121.2 --123.3. It is entitled *gNam sa spar 'debs*, a slight variant from the title in mTshams brag and the VGB. It follows the *rDo rje 'od 'phro ba'i rgyud*, which in VGB contains part of the text of the *rJe bstan dam pa*.

### ***Texts in the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu NGB***

Cantwell has published a study of the Waddell or Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang Nor bu (hereafter Rig 'dzin) manuscript edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. She believes that it was produced in the late eighteenth century by followers of the lineage of Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu, in the border regions of southern Tibet and Nepal. It is very close in structure and content to the gTing skyes edition.<sup>490</sup> Both editions belong to what has been dubbed the Southern Central Tibetan tradition of *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* transmission. The sequence of the texts contained in its first volume (Ka) runs as follows:

*rDzogs pa chen po sa gcig pa (Ka 19)*

*Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa don grub pa (Ka 20)*

*rTsal chen sprug pa (Ka 21)*

*Byang chub kyi sems khyung chen (Ka 22)*

*rDo rje sems dpa'i lta ba / rDo rje sems dpa' namkha' che (Ka 23)*

*bDe 'jam (Ka 24)*

*Namkha' rgyal po (Ka 25)*

*rJe btsan dam pa (Ka 26)*

*rTse mo byung rgyal (Ka 27)*

*Kun 'dus (Ka 28)*

*Srog gi 'khor lo (Ka 29)*

*Byang chub kyi sems bde ba'i myu gu (Ka 30)*

*bDe ba 'phra bkod (Ka 31)*

*rDzogs pa spyi gcod (Ka 32)*

*Khams gsum sgron ma (Ka 33)*

*sKye med ti ka (Ka 34)*

*Byang chub kyi sems rtsal chen gyi rgyud (Ka 35)*

*Byang chub kyi sems khyung chen (Ka 36)*

*rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che rgyas pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud (Ka 37)*

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<sup>490</sup>Cantwell 2002, pp. 359-376; revised for online publication at <http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/csac/NGB/Doc/DistinctiveFeaturesWeb.xml>

*Byang chub sems bsgom pa (Ka.38)*

This sequence is close to gTing skyes, but not identical. It features five titles, not four, in its *snga 'gyur lnga*. Most importantly, the *Byang chub kyi sems bsgom pa don grub pa* is no. 2 among them. This title, to which I shall return in due course<sup>491</sup>, takes the place of the similarly-titled (*Byang chub sems bsgom pa*) *rdo la gser zhun*, which is one of the *snga 'gyur lnga* in early lists. However, both gTing skyes and Rig 'dzin place it at the margins of this group.

Apart from the *bsGom pa don grub*, the missing texts in Klong chen pa have been omitted.<sup>492</sup> The consequence of all this, an incomplete complement of titles, is to some extent disguised by the presence of exegetical works. The *bDe ba'i myu gu* and *Khams gsum sgron ma* are present, while the *gNam spar 'debs* is omitted. The *rMad du byung ba* appears outside of the group (Vol. Kha 1).

### ***Texts in the sDe dge NGB***

The sDe dge edition differs from all the others in reversing the order of rDzogs chen texts, giving precedence to the *Yang ti*, *sPyi ti*, and *Man ngag sde* cycles over the *Sems sde*. *Sems sde* is relegated to volume 6 (Cha).<sup>493</sup>

Here are the texts in the order found in the sDe dge edition:

*Byang chub sems rtsal chen gyi rgyud (Dg 124)*

*Byang chub kyi sems khyung chen gyi rgyud (Dg 125)*

*rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che rgyas pa yi ge med pa'i rgyud (Dg 126)*

*rDzogs chen bde 'byams (Dg 127)*

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<sup>491</sup> See below, page 113.

<sup>492</sup> That is, the *rDzogs pa spyi chings*, *Byang chub sems tig*, and *Yid bzhin nor bu*.

<sup>493</sup> For a schema of the sDe dge NGB, see Thondup 1986, Appendix 3, p. 182.

*Nam mkha'i rgyal po (Dg 128)*

*rTse mo byung rgyal (Dg 129)*

*Srog gi 'khor lo (Dg 130)*

*Byang sems myu gu (Dg 131)*

*bDe ba phra bkod (Dg 132)*

Thus volume 6 gives only five of the Thirteen texts in a group together with the *Byang sems myu gu*. Even the Five Earlier Translations are represented here only through three commentarial texts in *rgyud* form. The *Rig pa'i khu byug* (entitled *bkra shis pa'i dpal rig pa'i khu byug*, Dg 152) and the *Byang chub sems sgom pa rdo la gser zhun* (Dg 157) are located outside the group, as is the *rMad du byung ba* (entitled *chos chen po rmad du byung ba*, Dg 148).

Three other titles are separated still further from the main corpus, included in the supplemental (*kha skong ba*) section in the final volume (Ra). The redactor Tshe dbang mchog grub was unable to locate these texts when the printing blocks were first produced.<sup>494</sup> The three additional titles are:

*rJe btsan dam pa (Dg 433)*

*Kun 'dus (Dg 434)*

*Khams gsum sgron ma (Dg 435)*

This edition features, hence, the same two unlisted titles as the gTing skyes and Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu editions: the *Byang sems myu gu* and *Khams gsum sgron ma*. Of all the editions, sDe dge is least concerned with the integrity of the Eighteen Texts as a group. Nor does it compensate for missing texts, rounding up the number of titles to eighteen through the inclusion of exegetical works. It is also significant that Tshe dbang mchog grub found it difficult to locate the three texts now in volume Ra. As I show below, the texts he eventually chose to include are not what they seem to be.

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<sup>494</sup> Cantwell 2002 (revised online version); also Achard 2003, p.85.



#### iv Missing Texts<sup>495</sup>

##### *The Importance of the bSam gtan mig sgron*

The *bSam gtan mig sgron*<sup>496</sup> by gNubs Sangs rgyas Ye shes<sup>497</sup> is the most important text of the late ninth or early tenth-century to compare Dzogchen ideas and practice with those of other Vehicles. It is also the earliest extant source that quotes extensively from the Eighteen Major Scriptures of the Mind Series.<sup>498</sup> It is therefore extremely useful in identifying lost or missing texts, through matching its citations with those found in extant works. It also provides occasional variant readings that help to resolve difficulties in preparing editions and translations.

Although the STMG does not give an actual list of the 18 texts, it nonetheless supplies the earliest reference to them as a group, where it calls them "the twenty or eighteen Minor Mind (Series texts)"<sup>499</sup>.

##### *1. The bsGom pa don grub*

In the Zangs gling ma list, the first of Nyang Ral's title lists,<sup>500</sup> the *sGom pa don grub* features as one of the Thirteen Later Translations, described as "teaching the method of meditation".<sup>501</sup> However, in his second list, it has vanished, leaving an incomplete corpus of only seventeen texts. Unless its omission was due to simple error, we must surmise that the status or identity of this text was already problematic by the twelfth century.

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<sup>495</sup> Some of the preliminary findings of this section appeared in my paper *On the History and Identification of two of the Thirteen Later Translations* in the October 2009 edition of the *Revue d'études Tibétaines*.

<sup>496</sup> See p. 60

<sup>497</sup> Eleventh-century and later tradition says he was a disciple of gNyan dpal dbyangs, author of the *rDo rje sems dpa' zhus lan*. See Karmay 1988, p. 207.

<sup>498</sup> Chapter Seven contains a large number of passages cited from them, which I set out in Appendix.

<sup>499</sup> See above, page 87

<sup>500</sup> See title list concordance table.

<sup>501</sup> *Sgom pa'i thabs bstan pa'i phyir*; *Zangs gling ma* vol. 1, p.78-79.

It is illuminating to examine the trajectory of the *bsGom pa don grub* through the title lists. Some contain a *(b)sGom pa don grub* while others, sometimes in the same place in the list, have a *bsGom pa don drug*. Klong chen pa has *bsGom pa don grub* as text number 18, while rGyal sras thugs mchog rtsal places *sGom pa don drug ma* unusually as the fifth of the *sNga 'gyur lnga*.<sup>502</sup> The *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* and *Bairo'i 'dra 'bag* omit the *sGom pa don grub* altogether. Even so, the *Bairo dra 'bag* does include a *Byang sems don drug* in a list of texts said to have been translated by Vairocana.<sup>503</sup> In the same position, a virtually identical list in the *Padma bKa' thang* biography of Padmasambhava<sup>504</sup> features a *Byang sems don grub*. Yet another work of O rgyan gling pa, the *Lo pan bka'i thang yig*<sup>505</sup>, incorporates *sGom don drug pa* in second place in its title list.

My examination of the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang Nor bu edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* established that we are dealing with a single text with two alternative titles - *bsGom pa don grub* or *bsGom pa don drug*. There is also a Sanskrit version of the title, with Tibetanized spelling.<sup>506</sup> The citations in the STMG confirmed my identification: both citations almost exactly match the *sGom pa don grub* text found in the Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang Nor bu edition:

Rig 'dzin Vol Ka, fol. 185r.7 reads:

*rnam par rtog pa'i mtshan ma ci byung yang / rtog pa de nyid chos nyid yin shes  
na / chos kyi dbyings ni gzhan du bsgom mi dgos /*

Here is the equivalent passage in the STMG, 441.3-4:

<sup>502</sup> Here it replaces the similarly-titled (*Byang chub sems bsgom*) *rdo la gser zhun*.

<sup>503</sup> Norbu and Clemente 1999, p. 248.

<sup>504</sup> *Op.cit.* p. 249.

<sup>505</sup> The *Lo pan bka'i thang yig* is part of the *bKa' thang sde lnga* series of chronicles composed by O rgyan gling pa.

<sup>506</sup> *Bo dhi tsi ta sa ma ti a mo gha tsa*, the version of the title supposedly transliterated from Sanskrit, seems closer to the *don drug* Tibetan title, since *tsa* is likely to represent Sanskrit adjectival number *ṣaṭ*, six. *Don grub*, on the other hand, would be *Amoghasiddhi* or *Siddhartha*, (both also Buddha names), in Sanskrit. However, the Sanskrit can not simply be accepted without reservation as being the text's original title. Moreover, the divergence between the apparent meaning of the Sanskrit title and that of the Tibetan, in immediate juxtaposition here, strongly suggests that the text passed at some stage through the hands of one or more redactors or copyists unfamiliar with Sanskrit.

*rnam par rtog pa'i mtshan ma ci byung yang /rtog pa de nyid chos nyid yin zhe  
na /chos kyi dbyings nyid zhan du bsgom mi dgos/*

The second passage cited in the STMG appears in Rig 'dzin (fol. 185r.7) as follows:

*'di [fol.185v.] ltar dus gsum rnam pa thams cad du / nyid las ma yengs pa ni  
chos kyi sku / stobs su gyur na 'jig rten rang bzhin med /*

The STMG citation (at 474.6) reads:

*di ltar dus gsum rnam pa thams cad du /nyid las ma yengs pa ni chos kyi sku  
/stobs su gyur nas 'jig rten rang bzhin med/*

In Rig 'dzin volume Ka<sup>507</sup> the cover title of text 20 is *sems bsGom don drug pa*, but its title at the beginning of the actual text reads *Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa don grub pa*.<sup>508</sup> At the end, the colophon gives, once again, *don drug pa*. Uniquely, this edition situates this text in second place among the Eighteen Texts, with the *Rig pa'i khu byug* in first, and the *rTsal chen sprug pa* in third. The only parallel for the text in this position is the *Lo pan bka'i thang yig* title list of O rgyan gling pa. gTing skyes, like the Rig 'dzin edition also in the Southern Central Tibetan *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* group, omits this text. However, significantly, this leaves it with only four texts in its Five Earlier Translations. Both editions put the *rDo la gser zhun*, normally one of the Five, outside the Eighteen Texts, among *rgyud* elaborations. This displacement may have caused Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu to insert the *bsGom pa don grub* among the Five Earlier Translations, perhaps following O rgyan gling pa. Current scholarly opinion places the redaction of the Rig 'dzin edition in the second half of the eighteenth century. gTing skyes dates to the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>509</sup> Thus, the earlier of the two editions includes the *sGom pa don grub*, while the later omits it. The Rig 'dzin edition, to

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<sup>507</sup> This volume is held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

<sup>508</sup> Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang Norbu Vol. Ka, f. 185a3.

<sup>509</sup> Cantwell, in a lecture hand-out from her talk on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* delivered at SOAS, 17 /3 /2010.

my knowledge <sup>510</sup> is the only one to contain an independent copy of the *sGom pa don grub /don drug*<sup>511</sup>.

The title as it is found in Nyang Ral's first list, *bsGom pa don grub pa*, may or may not have been the original one.<sup>512</sup> The earliest reference that I have found to the text, in the ninth-to-tenth century STMG, calls it the *Don drug pa*.

Furthermore, I have found no attestation of the alternative title *sGom pa don grub* <sup>513</sup> predating Nyang Ral, so it may be that he himself introduced the confusion. However, I am inclined to reserve judgement on this issue, until further research can be done

Tb 40<sup>514</sup> also contains a *don drug* version of the title. Tb 40 consists of five rDzogs chen texts distributed over chapters 2 to 11. Their titles run as follows: *rDo rje tshig drug* (Chapter two, folios 696.7–697.2); *Zab mo don drug* (Chapter three, folios 697.2–698.1); *rTsol bral rtsal drug* (Chapter four, folios 698.1–699.1); *Yangs pa che ba drug* (Chapter five, folios 699.1–700.7). Five of the titles of chapters six to eleven include the word *thig le*. Chapter 1 consists of an introduction in which *Sems dpa' rdo rje* requests *Kun tu bzang po* to explain various points by means of “the exegesis of the five six-folds” (Fol.696.5: *drug tshan lnga yi bshad pa*).<sup>515</sup> Its version of the *bsGom pa don grub* title loses the word “meditation” and replaces it with “profound”, to produce “Profound Six Points” (*zab mo don drug*).

Tb 40 echoes the language of the *Kun byed rgyal po*<sup>516</sup>. Unlike the *Kun byed rgyal po*, however, it incorporates not just texts from the *snga 'gyur lnga*, but also some of the

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<sup>510</sup> It is possible that the other two Southern Central Tibetan NGB editions, Nubri and Kathmandu, also contain the *bsGom pa don grub*, but I have not had the opportunity to examine them.

<sup>511</sup> See above p. 70 regarding its incorporation into Tb 40.

<sup>512</sup> I proposed that *sGom pa don grub* was the original title in my 2009 paper on the subject.

<sup>513</sup> This would be *siddhārtha* in Sanskrit, and *don grub* is a common collocation in Tibetan

<sup>514</sup> One of the group of texts whose title includes the phrase *khōr ba rtsad nas gcod pa*, its full title is '*khōr ba rtsad nas gcod pa nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud*'. See above p. 70

<sup>515</sup> Line 3 of the same folio gives their condensed titles as: *tshig drug don drug rtsal drug ste /che ba drug dang thig le drug /gro drug 'khōr ba'i dra ba gcad /*

<sup>516</sup> The most obvious example is its frequent exhortation “listen, great being!” (e.g. Tb.40 p. 696.1-2) with which the *Kun byed rgyal po* introduces most of its teachings.

Thirteen Later Translations. The *drug tshan lnga* comprise, in fact, the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, the *bsGom pa don drug /grub*, the *rTsal chen sprugs pa*, roughly the last two-thirds of the *Khyungs chen lding ba*,<sup>517</sup> and finally, an exposition of the *Thig le drug pa*. These texts are grouped together according to a principle of "sets of six". This is relevant to the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, since it consists of six lines, and is sometimes known as the "Six Vajra Lines" (*rDo rje tshig drug*) to this day.<sup>518</sup> It also seems apposite to include the *Thig le drug pa* in such a group, since it presents a system of six *thig le*. However, its relevance to the other texts, and to the *sGom pa don grub* in particular, is not immediately obvious. There is no clearly-discernible sixfold structure in this text. Why, then, should it be known as *Six points of meditation*?<sup>519</sup>

I was able to resolve this question when I gained access to the 120-volume edition of the *rNying ma bKa' ma*. Here I found a commentary on this text.<sup>520</sup> The commentary divides the text into six points:<sup>521</sup>

1. The Nature (*rang bzhin*) [of the enlightened mind]. Line commencing "The sea of compassionate activity..." (*thug rje rgya mtsho...*).
2. Its Activity (*spyod pa*). Line commencing "Even the Gods and nagas..." (*lha dang klu...*)
3. Fulfilling beings' aspirations through its qualities (*yon tan gyis gdul bya 'dun par bya ba*). Line commencing "The true nature of things..." (*chos nyid...*)

<sup>517</sup> Tb 40 /Tk 18's Chapter Five opens with four lines that are not part of the *Khyung chen lding ba*: [*de nas bcom ldan bka' tsal pa*] *mi gnas dmigs med chos kyi sku /spros med byang chub snying po'i don /bde chen sprul pa gnyis su med /gzhan nas mi btsal rang las byung*. Chapter Five then follows the *Khyung chen lding ba*, from that text's *zin dang chags dang bral dang zhi* up to its end.

<sup>518</sup> See Norbu, N. 2000, pp. 15, 16.

<sup>519</sup> The two titles are not as far apart as the two English translations would suggest, as "*don*" is a multivalent term that can mean aim, purpose, meaning, aspect or point. The only real difference is between *grub* (achieve) and *drug* (six), two words which are pronounced very similarly in Tibetan, like the English words *drub* and *drug*.

<sup>520</sup> KSG vol. 103, p.139-178. Its title is *Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa don drug pa'i 'grel pa rin po che'i sgron me*. The commentary colophon gives no author. I consider it unlikely to be earlier than the twelfth century. It cites other texts from among the Five Earlier and Thirteen Later Translations as well as numerous obscure works. These include the *Man ngag gser gyi sgrom bu*, (cited on p. 149.3 and p. 152.3) whose title is echoed in the *Nyi zla kha sbyor*, one of the Seventeen *Man ngag sde* tantras (fol. 159): "the mind that is like a golden box" (*gser gyi sgrom bu lta bu'i sems*), as well as in a presumably later work by Klong chen pa (*Man ngag rin po che gser gyi sgrom bu, mKha' 'gro yang tig*, pp. 568-588).

<sup>521</sup> As it explicitly declares on p. 142.5: *rtsa ba'i don ni mdor phye ba ste / de yang don drug ste*.

4. Essence of the View (*lta ba'i ngo bo*). Line commencing "Phenomena and mind..." (*chos dang sems...*)
5. The Meditation (*bsgom pa*). Three and a half lines, commencing "Because mind and phenomena are not anything at all, when one meditates..." (*sgom pa'i tshe na...*)
6. Signs and results [of successful practice] (*rtags dang 'bras bu*). Passage commencing "In this way..." (*'di ltar dus gsum...*)

These six points<sup>522</sup> are by no means explicit in the structure of the root text, however. I deduce that they, and the commentary, derive from the early tradition of oral explanation. Another discovery supports this deduction: I found that the *sPyod pa'i snyan* [b]rgyud, or "Oral Tradition of Conduct", a text adjoining the *sNying gi nyi ma* in the Vairo rgyud 'bum, includes the *Don drug* among the "five sixfold" texts which it explicates.<sup>523</sup> It includes (as lemmata) the text as it appears in the Rig 'dzin NGB from the phrase "*chos dang sems ni ye nas gnyis su med*" onwards, suggesting that the "original" text began here. Its "six points" are similar but not identical to those set out in the bKa' ma commentary.

The colophon of Tb 40 records that its Tibetan translation was done by the Indian pandit Śrī Siṃha and the Tibetan translator Vairocana. But this is not reliable information for dating purposes. While the core texts themselves might be of an eighth or early ninth century date, the framework which introduces and elaborates on them is most certainly later, postdating the *Kun byed rgyal po*. If, as I suggested earlier, it shares a common author with Tb 41, it most likely dates to the late twelfth, or early thirteenth century.

In conclusion, I believe the *don drug* version of the title derives from the exegetical tradition of five texts arranged according to the numerical scheme of sixes referred to in

<sup>522</sup> The commentary also lists six states (*skabs*) of *bodhicitta*, as well as six aspects of meditation (p. 145).

<sup>523</sup> VGB, vol. 1, p. 113.6-115.6. It cites a passage from Tb 40, which it simply refers to as "the tantra", declaring that the five cut through the obscurations of the beings in the six realms of Samsāra: VGB vol. 1, p. 112.1: *spyod pa'i snyan rgyud la lnga ste / tshig drug / don drug / rtsal drug / che ba drug / thig le drug go / de yang rgyud las / tshig drug don drug rtsal drug ste / che ba drug dang thig le drug / 'gro drug 'khor ba'i dri ba gcad ces so*.

the *sPyod pa'i snyan* [b]rgyud, and attested in Tb 40. Since it cites the *don drug*, the STMG must be contemporary with or post-date the formulation of this sixfold schema. There is, as yet, no direct evidence that the *don grub* version of the title predates this schema, although it cannot be ruled out. In any event, from at least the twelfth century onwards, uncertainty set in about the correct title, which eventually affected even the identity of the text. This, perhaps coupled with its omission (as an independent text) from such early collections as the Vairo rgyud 'bum<sup>524</sup>, might have led to its eventual obscurity.<sup>525</sup>

## 2. The *Thig le drug pa*

I include the *Thig le drug pa* in this section since it has never been securely identified. Several scholars<sup>526</sup> assumed that Tb 26 (=Tk 33), the *Byang chub sems mi 'gyur ba'i thig le tig*, must be the same text as the *Thig le drug pa*. This is presumably because of its similar title, its location among the other Thirteen Texts,<sup>527</sup> and because it does indeed list six *thig le*.<sup>528</sup> This identification is problematic since the three STMG quotations from the *Thig le drug pa* do not appear in Tb 26.<sup>529</sup>

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<sup>524</sup> Although it does not appear in the VGB as an independent text, at a late stage in my research I did find it included in the *sPyod pa'i snyan brgyud*, as noted above. It is also included in Bg 25, the VGB text that is equivalent to Tb 40.

<sup>525</sup> At the final stage of revision of this thesis I encountered a paper by Dan Martin that is highly relevant to this text. Although he does not identify it as one of the Thirteen Later Translations of the Mind Series, Martin notes that a version of the text is uniquely preserved among the partial writings (*bka' thor-bu*) of the twelfth century master Zhang Rinpoche, along with a story that he was able to recite it from memory at the age of only four. Martin also provides an English translation of the complete text. See Martin, 2001, pp. 45-56.

<sup>526</sup> There has been little published discussion up to now on the identity of this and other problematic texts from among the Thirteen Later Translations. However, several scholars expressed this view to me in private communications, and Stephan Arguillere states in his online index of citations from Klong chen pa that the *Grub mtha' mdzod* refers to the *Thig le drug pa* on p. 370, then comments "Il n'est pas impossible qu'il s'agisse d'un des textes du premier vol. du *rNying rgyud*, le *Byang chub kyi sems mi 'gyur ba'i thig le thig*." <http://www.arguillere.org/article-20779772.html> (item 421) Accessed June 2008.

<sup>527</sup> In mTshams brag for example, it is situated after the *rJe bstan dam pa* and before the *Srog gi 'khor lo*.

<sup>528</sup> This list is found on p. 597.2-3.

<sup>529</sup> The citations in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* are at 314.3; 347.5; 452.2.

Tb 26 /Tk. 33 features in Rig dzin vol. Ka 34<sup>530</sup>, where it is called *Mi 'gyur thig le tig* in its final line, but *sKye med ti ka* at the beginning. This allows us to identify the *sKye med ti la ka'i lung* of the *Zangs gling ma* list. It is described there as *sems nyid (kyi) thig le nyag gcig tu bstan pa*. In the *Me tog sNying po* it is replaced by *yang tig*, probably referring to the same text. The *Thig le drug pa* does not feature in Nyang Ral's lists.

Although Tb 26 does have a list of the six *thig le* (on p. 597 2-3), it integrates other doctrinal elements into its scheme of six *thig le*, in my view pointing to a probable later composition.<sup>531</sup>

Now that we have ruled out Tb 26, let us turn to another candidate for identification with the *Thig le drug pa*. This is chapters six to eleven of Tb 40 /Bg 25,<sup>532</sup> the *Nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud*. The list of the titles given in the text's first chapter refers to the *Thig le drug*.<sup>533</sup> Furthermore, since this tantra situates these *Thig le drug* chapters alongside the actual root texts of the Five Earlier Translations<sup>534</sup>, one would expect it to be of equal status, and not just an ancillary work such as a commentary, for example.<sup>535</sup> As in the case of Tb 26, however, the absence of the three relevant *bSam gtan mig sgron* citations means that we cannot identify these chapters as the *Thig le Drug pa*.

Why, in any case, are the *Thig le drug pa* chapters of Tb 40 found among the *sNga 'gyur lnga*? The *Thig le drug pa* is usually included in the Thirteen Later Translations. I

<sup>530</sup> This text is not in the sDe dge NGB. There is an editor's note after text Dg 158 (*Thugs kyi rgyud rin po che spungs pa'i rgyan*) stating "The *Byang sems mi 'gyur ba'i thig le* should be inserted here." (*'di mtshams byang sems mi 'gyur ba'i thig le 'dzud*).

<sup>531</sup> Tb 26, p. 597.3 reads: *thig le drug gi mkha' klong na / thig le dgu yi 'od gsal zhing / thig phran sum cu rtsa drug gis / thams cad gsal bar bkra ba yang*. The text also refers to *gter*, and various enumerations such as *nges pa lnga*, *che ba lnga*, *sbas pa gsum*; also "25 nails" (*gzer bu nyi shu rtsa lnga* - but Rig 'dzin cuts short the ending that mentions this). These are all more developed aspects of rDzogs chen doctrine that probably indicate a later date than the eighth or early ninth century. Some are present in the STMG.

<sup>532</sup> The VGB version of this tantra (Bg 25) is, incidentally, the same as mTsham brag Tb 40 (apart from just four lines, which are not in any case among the missing STMG quotes).

<sup>533</sup> Fol. 348v.3 /p.696: *tshig drug rtsal drug don drug ste / che ba drug dang thig le drug*.

<sup>534</sup> In this case, the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, *rTsal chen*, *sGom pa don drug*, and the *Yangs pa che ba drug*, which I have identified as a partial version of the *Khyung chen lding ba*.

<sup>535</sup> On this point see also Liljenberg 2009, p. 54 and note 23.



discovered an explanation for this apparent anomaly in a Dampa bde gshegs (1122–1192) commentary on the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, called *Sa gcig pa'i 'grel*.<sup>536</sup> Relating how Vairocana received the teachings from Śrī Simha, this text says: "The *Thig le drug pa* is included in this [group of five] although it is a later translation, because it, of all the sources of the tantras, [alone] is extant" (*thig le drug pa ni rgyud kyi khung thams cad nas de nyid yod pas phyi 'gyur yin kyang 'di nyid bcug pa'o*)<sup>537</sup> It adds: "since the *Thig le drug pa* is the head of the later translations, it is also present in Sanskrit"<sup>538</sup> (*thig le drug pa la phyi 'gyur gyi dbu yin pa'i dbang gi rgya gar skad kyang yod de*). In this regard, it is noteworthy that the *Bairo 'dra bag, mKhas pa'i dga' ston*<sup>539</sup> and the *Sems sde bco brgyad kyi dgongs pa rig 'dzin rnams kyis rdo rje'i glur bzhengs pa* all include the *Thig le drug pa* among the *sNga 'gyur lnga*. Below I formulate a hypothesis why the *Thig le drug pa* should have been regarded as the "head" of the Thirteen Later Translations.

After searching numerous other texts<sup>540</sup>, I managed to locate<sup>541</sup> all three STMG quotations from the *Thig le drug pa* in the *rDzogs pa chen po chos nyid byang chub kyi sems thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud* (Tb 124).<sup>542</sup>

<sup>536</sup> *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* vol. 103, pp.757-824. This text was edited by gTsang ston rin chen according to its colophon on p.823 /4. Intriguingly, it states (p.764.2) that "the five great texts not separately present in Sanskrit were translated as one single text": *che ba lnga so so la rgya gar skad med pa ni lnga ka dkyus gcig tu bsgyur ba ste*. It also implies some connection with the *Nam mkha' che*, though this is not clear. It further states "of the three *Sems bsgom* the earliest translated was that in twelve points or sections". (*sems bsgom ni gsum las snga 'gyur ni don bcu gnyis ste*).

<sup>537</sup> p. 764.4. So, it appears there was a Sanskrit version known in the 12th century.

<sup>538</sup> Tb 124 does give a Sanskrit title. When the Tibetanized spelling is corrected this is:

Mahāsandhidharmatābodhicittabindusamudrasthāvatāra Tantra.

<sup>539</sup> Where it is described as *de bzhin du bsam gtan ston pa*.

<sup>540</sup> For example, the *Bang mdzod 'phrul gyi lde'u mig*, Chapter 31 (Tb 159 /Dg. vol. Cha, relevant passage on fol.158a-b). This is a very concise teaching on the *thig le drug* which emphasizes how they are all contained or condensed into each other and not separate. The mTshams brag version differs slightly, but is basically the same text. This summary takes for granted that the reader is already familiar with the basic teaching on the *thig le drug*. It does not contain the relevant STMG citations. I would like to thank Jean-Luc Achard for drawing my attention to this text.

<sup>541</sup> It has recently come to my attention that Giuseppe Baroetto has made the same identification of the *Thig le drug pa*. See Baroetto 2011, vol. II, bibliography, p. 380. Baroetto characterises this chapter of the *Thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa'i rgyud* as an "epitome" of the *rDo la gser zhun* (*op.cit.*, p. 372).

<sup>542</sup> This text is also found in Dg. Vol. Ra, text 22, pp.269b-278a; Tk. Vol. 2, text 47, pp.128 – 148.

This text has two introductory chapters describing a standard sūtra-style setting for the tantra. Six chapters, from chapter three onwards, each contain the main part of the names of the six *thig le* as set out by the STMG.<sup>543</sup>

The STMG's *Thig le drug pa* citations appear in Chapter 3 of Tb 124.<sup>544</sup> Thus this chapter must predate the composition of the STMG. However, does this apply to the whole text, or did Chapter 3 originally circulate independently of the ten-chapter text we now have? Chapter 3 is unmistakably the core of the text; the remainder either introduces or just expands on it in the manner of a commentary. The complete text is quite long in comparison with the other Thirteen Texts, at fourteen folios. Its greater length, together with its sutra-style framework, indicates that it could be a slightly later elaboration (although still firmly within *Sems sde*) based on Chapter Three.

It is noteworthy that Chapter Three contains many phrases and parts of lines found near the beginning of the *rDo la gser zhun*. In fact, Giuseppe Baroetto in his recent edition of Chapter Seven of the STMG describes Tb 124 as an "epitome" of the *rDo la gser zhun*. Dam pa bde gsheg's statement that the *Thig le drug pa* is the "head" of the rest of the Thirteen Later Translations makes more sense in the light of this link with the early *rDo la gser zhun*. I consider it possible, then, that Chapter Three of Tb 124 began as a short instruction elucidating at least part of the *rDo la gser zhun*.

The colophon of Tb 124 states that Vimalamitra and g.Yu sgra (snying po) translated it. On account of the close relationship with the *rDo la gser zhun*, I regard this attribution as feasible.

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<sup>543</sup> These are identical except that they omit the actual word *thig le*, which is simply replaced by "chapter: (*le'u*). Karmay notes (1988, p. 118 n.55) that the *bSam gtam mig sgron* describes the *thig le chen po* as having six types of aspect (*thig le drug pa*), which are enumerated separately in the text as follows: *dbyings kyi thig le /dbyings rnam par dag pa'i thig le / chos nyid thig le /ye shes thig le /kun tu bzang po'i thig le /lhun gyi(s) grub pa'i thig le*. Karmay adds a further reference to a detailed explanation in Rongzom chos kyi bzang po's *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa*, fols. 218-9.

<sup>544</sup> They occur in Tb 124, fol. 54a.2-4 (p. 107); fol. 54b.4; fol. 55a.1. See the Edition of the *Thig le drug pa*.

### 3. The *Byang chub sems tig*

The *Byang chub sems tig* has, until now, been thought lost. If we track its course through the various lists, we see that the first definite appearance of the title <sup>545</sup> is in the fourteenth century, in the *Lo pan bka'i thang yig* and in Klong chen pa's two lists. rGyal sras thugs mchog rtal includes it as well, as does Sog zlog pa. But it does not appear in the *Sems sde bco brgyad kyi dgongs pa rig 'dzin rnams kyis rdo rje'i glur bzhengs pa*.

The *Me tog snying po* refers to a text called *Yang tig*. The description it gives matches that of the *sKye med ti la ka* as listed in the *Rin chen gTer mdzod* edition of the *Zangs gling ma*, as well as the *Ti ka* listed in the two Kathmandu manuscript *Zangs gling ma* versions.<sup>546</sup> Both manuscript *Zangs gling mas* describe this text as teaching that “the essence of the mind is a single sphere” (*thig le nyag cig*)<sup>547</sup>. Moreover, 'Jigs med gling pa lists a text called *Yang tig rgyal po* for which he gives a description which matches that in the *Zangs gling ma*, but omits a single syllable (*nyag*). The *Yang tig /sKye med ti la ka /Tika* is almost certainly the same text as the *Sems kyi ti ka* in the Vairo 'dra 'bag and mKhas pa'i dga' ston lists. Moreover, I showed earlier that the Rig 'dzin NGB gives the titles *sKye med ti ka* and *Mi 'gyur thig le tig* to the same text.<sup>548</sup> Thus it is clear that this text held a variety of titles.

The *Mi 'gyur ba'i thig le thig* cannot be the *Byang chub sems tig* as known by gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes, since his citation is absent from it. I suspect that the *Mi 'gyur ba'i thig le thig* may have taken the place of the *Byang chub sems tig*.

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<sup>545</sup> Jñāna Shes rab, whose dates are uncertain, lists one title, the *Byang sems glong gi rtsa ba*, which could conceivably be the same text.

<sup>546</sup> I am grateful to Lewis Doney for supplying me with the relevant passage as it appears in the Kathmandu manuscripts of the *Zangs gling ma*.

<sup>547</sup> Kathmandu National Archive *Zangs gling ma* manuscripts, designated by Doney as versions E (*U rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar 'bring po zangs gling mar grags pa*; handwritten *dbus can* manuscript, which the Nepal German Manuscript Cataloguing Project microfilmed in 1989; reel AT 28/2) and F (*'O rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar 'bring po zangs gling mar grags pa*; handwritten *dbus can* manuscript, which the NGMCP microfilmed in 1980; reel E 1125/5). See E fol. 67b: *sems kyi ngo bo thig le nyag cig tu bstan pa'i phyir ti ka bshad*.

<sup>548</sup> This text is Tb 26, Tk 33, and also Rig dzin vol. Ka 34, which is entitled *sKye med ti ka* at its beginning, but *Mi 'gyur thig le tig* in its final line.

The view of the primordial ground as a single sphere (expounded in the *Byang chub sems tig*) was the subject of a dispute between two female teachers in India during the visit of Vairocana. The controversy is cited in a modern Tibetan biography of Vairocana drawing on older sources, but the source for the description of this particular event is not specified.<sup>549</sup> According to this biography, Śrī Siṃha tells Vairocana that the teachings he wishes to receive are prohibited. He explains that a courtesan named bDag nyid ma and a nun called Kun dga' ma polluted the teachings, so the paṇḍitas agreed to burn the polluted teachings and gather together the pure teachings to be hidden in Bodhgaya. The dispute itself is described as follows:

[previously] there was a prostitute named bDag nyid ma and a Bikṣuṇī [named] Kun dga' ma. There was a dispute about the three of root text, precepts, and instructions [of Ati-yoga] in regard to the *Thig le nyag gCig* [Tantra].<sup>550</sup>

Fearing that the dispute was an omen about the instructions being transferred to Tibet, the paṇḍitas and the (unnamed) king put the teachings under strict seals of secrecy. This account is certainly striking in its picture of dissension among early rDzogs chen teachers, leading even to the burning of texts. The controversy, while it probably took place too early to account directly for the disappearance of the *Byang chub sems tig*, may conceivably have been connected with it.

Our last candidate for identification with the *Byang chub sems tig* is a text in the *sDe dge* NGB. At the end of the *sDe dge* version of the *bDe ba phra bkod*<sup>551</sup> we meet with a very brief separate text that opens with the words *Byang chub kyi sems tig*. Achard believes

<sup>549</sup> The account given in Sangpo, p. 72 (Biographical Dictionary of Tibet, vol. III. Dharamsala, LTWA, 1973) is translated in Hanson-Barber, 1984, pp. 47-95; the *thig le nyag cig* dispute is referred to on p. 57 and p. 59. Karmay also refers to this dispute; see Karmay, 1988, p. 22.

<sup>550</sup> Sangpo, p. 70: *smad 'tshong ma bdag nyid ma dang dge slong kun dga' mos thig le nyag gcig la rgyud lung man ngag gsum du phye ste rtsod pas*. Although I quote this passage as translated by Hanson-Barber (p. 57), I think it more likely that *Thig le nyag gcig* here refers to the doctrine of the same name, found for example in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, and is not the title of a tantra.

<sup>551</sup> *sDe dge rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, Vol Cha, fol. 97a.5 /p.93.5.

this text to be the *Byang chub sems tig*.<sup>552</sup> Since it is the only text with a matching title<sup>553</sup>, I transliterated and translated this short work as part of my study.

This identification, however, is beset with problems. First, the STMG contains one citation from the *Byang chub sems tig*. It runs as follows: *bza' ba'i yul med rtsol ba'i dbang pos stong*.<sup>554</sup> This excerpt is not found in the sDe dge text. Second, the editors of sDe dge themselves were uncertain: a note on the line below, in smaller characters, declares "[This text] is also called the *rDzogs pa spyi gcod*." <sup>555</sup>

Furthermore, I have located the single STMG citation from the *Byang chub sems tig* in another of the Thirteen Later Translations, that is, in one of the two divergent versions of the *Namkha'i rgyal po*.<sup>556</sup> I first encountered the citation in a *bKa' ma* commentary called *rDo rje gzong phugs kyi 'grel pa*.<sup>557</sup> This work, however, is not a commentary on the missing *Byang chub sems tig*, but rather on the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*.<sup>558</sup>

So why should the STMG citation of the *Byang chub sems tig* occur in the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*? The *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* is not likely to be the same text as the *Byang chub sems tig* since they appear as separate titles in most of the lists. Moreover, the STMG itself has numerous accurate quotations specifically from the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*.<sup>559</sup>

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<sup>552</sup> In a personal communication dated 31 May 2009.

<sup>553</sup> There is a similarly-titled text (*Byang chub sems kyi thig le'i rgyud*) listed by Nyang Ral and Klong chen pa among the Twenty four or twenty-five Tantras of the Mind Series. Like most of this group it does not appear to be extant. See Dudjom, R. 1991, p. 284 for Klong chen pa's list, and Kunsang 1999, p. 91-92 for Nyang Ral's list. In addition, The Blue Annals, tracing the history of the *Guhyasamāja* lineage, mentions a *Byang chub sems kyi thig le* among a list of fourteen works attributed to Buddhaśrījñāna; this is no longer extant. See Roerich 1988, p. 367.

<sup>554</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron* p. 318.1

<sup>555</sup> Note that this does not match the *rDzogs pa spyi gcod* found elsewhere.

<sup>556</sup> The cited line is in the mTshams brag, gTing skyes and Rig 'dzin version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, as well as in the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* commentary entitled *rDo rje gzong phug gi 'grel pa* (KSG vol. 103, p. 386.6).

<sup>557</sup> *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* vol. 103, p. 381-398. The citation is on p. 386.6.

<sup>558</sup> The passage that alerted me to this was: (DZP p. 396.2-5): *nam mkhar mi gcig pa yang dmigs su med* etc. This is actually quoted in the STMG (p. 415.3-416.2) where it is attributed to the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*.

<sup>559</sup> I have checked all thirteen of them, and they match the sDe dge version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* well. They are an even closer match to the *bKa' ma* commentary written explicitly on the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* (*Nam mkha'i rgyal po'i don 'grel*).

In order to resolve this puzzle, we need to focus on the history of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*. gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in the *Mun pa'i go cha* <sup>560</sup>, a work he wrote some decades before <sup>561</sup> the STMG, quotes a passage extracted "from the precept" (*man ngag las*).<sup>562</sup> I have now found this same passage in the sDe dge version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*. This is an important discovery: first, it is possibly the earliest citation <sup>563</sup> from any of the Thirteen Texts. It establishes that the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, in some form, already existed by the third quarter of the ninth century. Second, it shows that, in that period, this text carried a different, rather generic title.

The *bKa' ma* commentary adjacent to the *rDo rje gzong phugs kyi 'grel pa* describes itself as an explanation of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*.<sup>564</sup> It calls its root text *man ngag*<sup>565</sup> and explicitly states that it it was "transmitted from ear to ear down from dGa' rab rdo rje". (*dga' rab rdo rje man chad du rna ba nas rna bar brgyud pa*).<sup>566</sup> Both commentaries adhere more closely to the sDe dge version than the mTshams brag group version of the root text, although the *rDo rje gzong phugs kyi 'grel pa* omits much of the last part of the sDe dge text.

The colophon of the *rDo rje gzong phugs kyi 'grel pa* describes this text as "the commentary on the precept (*man ngag*), the quintessence (*yang tig*) of the unerring view".<sup>567</sup> It is possible that the word *tig* is here an oblique hint at the same word in the title of the *Byang chub sems tig*. It is repeated in the next sentence: "The commentary on the essential meaning (*tig 'grel*) [of? <sup>568</sup>] Ācārya gSal ba rgyal concludes here. Yang

<sup>560</sup> Dalton noted that it quotes from the *rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha che*, but this is the first time I think anyone has found a quote from one of the 13 Later Translations in it.

<sup>561</sup> Dalton in his thesis on the *dGong 'dus* (p. 267) dates the *Mun pa'i go cha* to about 885 C.E.

<sup>562</sup> *Mun pa'i go cha, stod cha*; fol. 335 /p.637: *mtshon cing rtogs par bya ba de nyid ni / [ston pa'i lung bzhin tshig gi mtha' dpyad pa] / tshad mar bzung phyir 'dzin pa de skyes te / de bas mtshon byed sems kyi rgyud kha' 'khor / zhes gsungs pa'i don to.*

<sup>563</sup> The other contender for this distinction is the dPal dbyangs text *Thab shes sgron ma*, which I have discussed above.

<sup>564</sup> *bKa ma shin tu rgyas pa*, vol. 103, pp. 399-438.

<sup>565</sup> It gives the longest form of the title as *Man ngag byang chub sems ye shes nam mkha'i rgyal po*. (p. 399.1)

<sup>566</sup> p. 400.2.

<sup>567</sup> *rDo rje gzong phugs* p. 398.2: *ma nor dgongs pa'i yang tig man ngag 'grel*.

<sup>568</sup> The name Ācārya gSal ba rgyal is separated by a *shad* from the phrase "*tig 'grel*", and in the absence of any connecting particle, my translation here is provisional.

dbang gter wrote [it]. It is called *rDo rje gzong phugs* in the original copy.<sup>569</sup> I interpret this to mean that Yang dbang gter<sup>570</sup> was the author of the *rDo rje gzong phugs* commentary. The commentary's root text itself is not revealed (unless the phrase *yang tig man ngag* refers to it), but it seems to have been written by Ācārya gSal ba rgyal. He is one of several early rDzogs chen masters who gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes mentions<sup>571</sup> in his STMG, but we know very little else about him.

This establishes that the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* existed, be it under a different title, in the mid ninth-century. Even more striking is the possibility that Ācārya gSal ba rgyal was its author.

The *rDo rje gzong phugs* also includes all five lines of a passage cited in the STMG from a text called *sProd pa med pa'i tig*.<sup>572</sup> This may therefore have been an alternative title for the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* (and/or, possibly, the *Byang chub sems tig*). The *bKa' ma* commentary explicitly on the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* also contains the *sProd pa med pa'i tig* citations, but not the sole STMG citation from the *Byang chub sems tig*.<sup>573</sup>

<sup>569</sup> *rDo rje gzong phugs* p. 398.2-3: *a tsa rya gsal ba rgyal / tig 'grel rdzogs so / yang dbang gter gyis mdzad / rdo rje gzong phugs dpe las btags*.

<sup>570</sup> This name is one of the aliases of none other than gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes. If he did indeed write the commentary, then it would date to around the turn of the tenth century.

<sup>571</sup> Assuming that gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes himself wrote the interlinear notes in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* that ascribe to various masters different views of rDzogs chen.

<sup>572</sup> STMG 370.5: *sprod pa med pa'i tig las / ye shes rnam par dag pas* (370.6) *gcig phyir te / grol ba'i lam nyid yod ma yin / gcig dang du ma'i mtha' las 'das pa ni / chos kyi dbyings kyi mtshan nyid bkra ba med / (371.1) kun gyi bdag nyid dus gsum dbyings mi g.yo / zhes 'byung* / The corresponding lines are found in the *rDo rje gzong phugs kyi 'grel pa* (in KSG, vol. 103) interspersed with commentary, as follows (p. 384.3) : *ye shes rnam par dag pa cig phyir te / mi gnas ye* (4) *shes rang dag tha dad med / bdag nyid chen po'i gtan tshig don yin pas / grol ba'i las ni mtshan nyid yod ma yin / bcings pa gnyis bral* (5) *'phrin las 'di 'drar med / mtha' bral gtan tshig sgo nas mthun bstan pa / gcig dang du ma'i mtha' las 'das pa ni / gcig las ma g.yos tha* (6) *dad snang ba dang / kun bral nyag gcig ci ma spangs pa'i phyir / rgya mtsho'i rlabs dang de nyid mtshungs bzhin dang / chos kyi dbyings kyi mtshan nyid bkra* (p. 385.1) *ba med / de bas gzugs bral gzugs kun dngos / tshon lnga bsres bzhin 'di 'drar bstan par dka' / thams cad mkhyen ltas* (2) *dbu ma zil gyis gnon / 'di 'dra don mchog ma rtogs skyon bstan phyir / kun gyi bdag nyid dus gsum dbyings mi g.yo /*

<sup>573</sup> The lines are not quoted in the same order in the *Ye shes nam mkha'i rgyal po'i don 'grel*. They occur as follows: KSG vol. 103 p. 420.6: *(des na) kun kyi bdag nyid dus gsum dbyings mi g.yo*; p. 425.6: *ye shes rnam pa dag pas gcig phyir te / grol ba'i lam gyi mtshan nyid sdom ma yin*; p. 426.3: *gcig dang du ma'i mtha' las 'das pa ni / chos kyi dbyings kyi mtshan nyid bkra ba 'ang med /*

The sDe dge version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* also omits the *Byang chub sems tig* line. The other versions, however, do contain it.<sup>574</sup> They also have a passage which is similar to the STMG's cited lines from the *Sprod pa med pa'i tig*. One of the lines, *gcig dang du ma'i mtha' las 'das pa'o*, is almost identical.<sup>575</sup>

There is further possible evidence of a link between the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* and *Byang chub sems tig* in two title lists. Both the *Bairo 'dra bag* and *dPa' bo gtsug lag* place the *Sems ti ka*, perhaps a variant of *Byang chub sems tig*, next to the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*. Moreover, they characterise both texts under a single phrase: "teaching through simile, meaning, and characteristics, the *Sems ti ka* and the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*"<sup>576</sup>

Chapter 34 of the *Kun byed rgyal po*<sup>577</sup> sets out its teaching in exactly such a manner. It employs the simile of the sky to expound the nature of *bodhicitta*. Unfortunately, this chapter does not contain the STMG citation from the *Byang chub sems tig*. Nor does the chapter's title appear to support the identification: "the instruction (*lung*) on the sutra that gathers all intentions"<sup>578</sup>. Notwithstanding these objections, there may still be a connection with the *Byang chub sems tig*. The *Kun byed rgyal po* versions of some of the other Eighteen Texts have, in my view, been adapted from the independent works they incorporate, and this might also be the case here.

In conclusion, I uncovered evidence that points to a possible early relationship between the *Byang chub sems tig* and the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*. More research is needed to clarify the intertextual complexities of this relationship, but most of the groundwork has probably been done that may eventually lead to identifying the *Byang chub sems tig*.

<sup>574</sup> In the mTshams brag version, fol. 302.v.1: *bza' (2) ba'i yul med btsal ba'i dbang pos stong/*

<sup>575</sup> In mTshams brag, Fol. 302.v.6: *thams cad rnam par dag par gcig pa'i phyir/ las dang mtshan nyid so sor ma nges pas/ gcig dang du ma'i mtha' las 'das pa'o/ chos kyi dbyings nyid yul (Fol. 303 r.1) las 'das mod kyang/ 'dzin pa med pa'i mtshan nyid kun la bkra/*

<sup>576</sup> *mKhas pa'i da' ston* vol. 1 p. 221: *dpe don rtags gsum ston pa sems ti ka dang na (sic) mkha' rgyal po*.

<sup>577</sup> In the mTshams brag edition, chapter 34 is in Vol. 1 (Ka), fol. 59r.- 61r. (pp. 117-121).

<sup>578</sup> Fol. 61r.7; *dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo lung gi le'u*. The *dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* is an important early work regarded by tradition as the root text of Anuyoga. The *Mun pa'i go cha*, the commentary on it written by gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes, cites a line found in the sDe dge version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*. See above, p. 125.



#### 4. *The Yid bzhin nor bu*

All of the lists that I discussed above include the *Yid bzhin nor bu*, so its disappearance is unexpected. This probably occurred at a relatively late date. Nyang Ral describes the *Yid bzhin nor bu* as teaching that "all desirable qualities arise from the nature of the mind".<sup>579</sup> The *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* characterises it as "condensing all philosophical tenets".<sup>580</sup> It is classified in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* and *Vairo rgyud 'bum* as one of the four "minor" texts.

I now believe the *Yid bzhin nor bu* to be extant, but disguised under a different title. The indices to the various *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* editions contain three recurring titles that do not appear in any of our lists. One of these, the *Khams gsum sgron ma*, is included among the Thirteen Later Translations in the mTshams brag, gTing skyes, and Rig 'dzin editions.<sup>581</sup> This short text, the *Khams gsum sgron ma* contains just after the initial homage formula the phrase "the precious *wish-fulfilling jewel* [my italics] that transcends the three realms".<sup>582</sup> This could be a possible alternative title matching the wording of the title of the *Yid bzhin nor bu*.

The STMG contains a single quotation from the *Yid bzhin nor bu*. This reads: *Rang byung ye nas ma bcos 'od gsal ba /rtsol bas rtsol du med de snying po'i don*<sup>583</sup>. The same lines, with minor variations, are included in *Khams gsum sgron ma*. While this itself is not conclusive proof of the identity of the two texts, it adds considerable weight to the argument.

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<sup>579</sup> *Zangs gling ma*, pp. 78, 79: *Sems nyid las 'dod pa'i yon tan thams cad 'byung bar bstan pa'i phyir*.

<sup>580</sup> *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* vol.1 p. 221: *grub mtha' thams cad 'dus pa yid bzhin nor bu*.

<sup>581</sup> The *Khams gsum sgron ma* is found in mTshams brag Tb.36; gTing skyes Tk.32; Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu Vol. Ka 33. Perhaps not coincidentally, these are the editions that group the Eighteen Major Scriptures together most tightly.

<sup>582</sup> Tb.36 p. 636.2: *Khams gsum las 'das yid bzhin nor bu rin po che*.

<sup>583</sup> *Bsam gtan mig sgron*, 348.3.

The *Khams gsum sgron ma*, less than half a folio in length, accords with the classification of the *Yid bzhin nor bu* as a short text. It also fits Nyang Ral's description. Its homage to Samantabhadra, its conciseness, and its characteristic *sems sde* terminology are all features that it has in common with other texts of the Thirteen Later Translations

Furthermore, I established that there are two versions of the *Khams gsum sgron ma*. The first version is included in mTshams brag, gTing skyas and Rig 'dzin.<sup>584</sup> I refer henceforth to this shared version as Tb 36. This very version<sup>585</sup> is also found in Chapter Ten of Tb 41, entitled *Yid bzhin nor bu'i le'u*. As discussed above, Tb 41 has chapter titles that match those of the Thirteen Later Translations, but the contents of these chapters differ from their namesakes. The *Yid bzhin nor bu*, however, is an exception. I also identified a *bKa' ma* commentary on the *Khams gsum sgron ma*.<sup>586</sup> Although largely based on Tb 36, its root text passages share some readings with Chapter Ten of Tb 41. Most significantly perhaps, both substitute *rtag pa* for the word *g.yung drung* given in Tb 36.

This leads me to suspect that the Tb 36 version (in some form) predates both the *bKa' ma* commentary and Chapter Ten of Tb 41. van Schaik observed that *g.yung drung*, a term from pre-Buddhist Tibet meaning "eternal", was almost written out of Buddhist translations. This occurred after its meaning was fixed as equivalent to the Sanskrit *sanātana*, a rare word in Buddhist texts compared to the Sanskrit *nityā*, translated by *rtag pa*.<sup>587</sup> Moreover, from the eleventh century onwards *g.yung drung* became associated with the Bon tradition.<sup>588</sup>

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<sup>584</sup> Within the group, gTing skyas and Rig 'dzin are closer to each other than mTshams brag, as would be expected since they are both part of what has been called the South Central Tibetan transmission line of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*.

<sup>585</sup> Although written in lines of seven syllables rather than nine.

<sup>586</sup> *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, vol. 103, pp. 355-362. Its title is *gSang ba bde ba'i 'grel pa*. It does not contain the last quarter of the text found in mTshams brag /gTing skyas /Rig 'dzin version. Its colophon attributes it to "myself, called gNyag Jñānakumara" and ends "This concludes the wish-fulfilling jewel."

<sup>587</sup> van Schaik, entry on *g.yung drung*, <http://earlytibet.com>. The fact that *rtag pa* also appears shortly before *g.yung drung* in this text could mean that the text is translating the two Sanskrit words differently, as one would expect after the standardization of vocabulary had occurred.

<sup>588</sup> See Karmay 1988, p.17. It may be significant that followers of the Bon Dzogchen teachings have claimed that Vairocana himself was Bon po as well as Buddhist.

The second version of the *Khams gsum sgron ma* features in the sDe dge supplementary volume Ra.<sup>589</sup> There are some obvious differences between the two: first, the use of the term *rig pa /ma rig pa* in the sDe dge text, which does not occur in Tb 36. Second, sDe dge gives prominence to the referential framework of the *Trikāya*; Tb 36 refers to *rang byung ye shes*, and *sku gsung thugs kyi dkyil 'khor*. In other words, the sDe dge text is happy to employ specific rDzogs chen terminology, while the other version, (despite twice referring to Samantabhadra), is more tantric in character.

The sDe dge *Khams gsum sgron ma* text is found also in Chapter Fourteen of Tb 41 (*Khams gsum sgron ma'i le'u*). In fact, this chapter reads like a (slightly expanded) exegesis of the preceding Chapter Ten. This is corroborated when we compare the two versions of the *Khams gsum sgron ma*. Take, for example, the following line in Tb 36: "Since it transcends all conceptual analysis, it is the experiential domain of great sages".<sup>590</sup> The corresponding passage in the sDe dge version reads: "The supreme, non-dual essence of the essence is primordially free from all conceptual limitations. There is no thought in the clarity of [the state of] Suchness. The immaculate expanse of the ultimate truth, free from conceptual elaboration, since it is not something to be searched for, transcends the term "meditation".<sup>591</sup>

My hypothesis runs as follows: the text now represented by Tb 36 was originally entitled *Yid bzhin nor bu*. Since Chapter ten of Tb 41 retains this title, but the *bKa' ma* commentary has *Khams gsum sgron ma* instead, I conclude that the commentary is likely to postdate both Tb 36 and Tb 41. The commentary's incorporation of mixed readings from both of the other texts supports this view.

I do not, however, postulate Tb 36 to be the "original" *Yid bzhin nor bu*. Let us recall that it is titled *Khams gsum sgron ma*. Furthermore, the *Yid bzhin nor bu* citation in the

<sup>589</sup> Along with the sDe dge versions of the *rJe btsan dam pa* and *Kun 'dus*, which also follow Tb 41.

<sup>590</sup> Tb 36, fol. 318.5: *rtog dpyod mtshan ma kun las 'das pa'i phyir / drang srong chen po nyid kyi spyod yul yin/*

<sup>591</sup> sDe dge NGB vol. Ra, fol. 215r.2: *snying po'i snying po gnyis med mchog / ye nas tha snyad kun dang bral / ji bzhin gsal la rtog med do / (3) don dam spros med yang dag dbyings / btsal du med pas sgom tshig 'das /*

STMG matches Tb 41 more closely than Tb 36, except for the metric congruence between Tb 36 and the STMG. For comparison, I reproduce the different versions of this line:

STMG: *rang byung ye nas ma bcos 'od gsal ba /rtsol bas rtsol du med de snying po'i don /*<sup>592</sup>

KSG: *rang byung ye nas ma bcos 'od gsal ba / rtsol bas btsal du med de snying po don /*<sup>593</sup>

Tb 41: *rang 'byung ma bcos ye gnas gsal / btsal bas btsal med snying po'i don /*<sup>594</sup>

Tb 36: *rang byung ye shes ma bcos 'od gsal ba / bde chen btsal du med pas snying po'i don /*<sup>595</sup>

If Tb 41 Chapter Ten contains the *Yid bzhin nor bu*, we need to ask why the author chose to include it. Assuming my identification is correct, this is the only source-text in what is otherwise a compilation of exegetical paraphrases of source-texts. Therefore its position is slightly anomalous.

In short, I doubt that Tb 36 is the original text of the *Yid bzhin nor bu*. The last section of the *bKa' ma* commentary, though, gives us perhaps a glimpse of its original version. It omits the last quarter of Tb 36<sup>596</sup>, but quotes some other source. It contains three lines unique to the commentary: "It is taught that the definitive fruition is ultimately one. Everything dwells in the state of vast equality. There is nothing other than this lamp of

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<sup>592</sup> STMG 348.3.

<sup>593</sup> Note that this is one of several occasions where the commentary incorporates a variant omitted from its root text citation into the commentary line that immediately follows. Here the commentary line reads: *rang byung ye shes ye nas ma bcos la*. Thus it incorporates the Tb 36 variant *ye shes*, absent from its quoted line of root text. This I interpret as indicating that the text is a mixed one. Other examples are: p. 357.4: the word *ngang* in the commentary line *thams cad mi 'byed pa'i ngang du rdzogs*; p.358.6 *drang po* in the line *drang po rnams kyi spyod yul yin*. The latter is a particularly clear indication of the author having a different version of the root text available to him, as it is clearly a quote itself, followed by the phrase *zhes gsungs pa yin no*.

<sup>594</sup> Tb 41 fol. 361r.6.

<sup>595</sup> Tb 36 (*Khams gsum sgron ma*) fol. 318v.3.

<sup>596</sup> There are no further extracts quoted from Tb 36 after the latter text's line that reads: *thams cad sku gsung thugs kyi dkyil 'khor la*.

bliss."<sup>597</sup> At the end, we meet with a colophon in the first person singular, apologising in case this "unfit" (*mi 'tsham*) commentary deviates from its root text (*gzhung*), described as "the definitive precept" (*man ngag nges pa*).<sup>598</sup> The author of the commentary, Nyag Jñānakumara, was one of the two translators who collaborated with Vimalamitra on the Thirteen Later Translations. The commentary title, *Byang chub sems gsang ba bde ba'i 'grel pa* should mean that *Byang chub sems gsang ba bde ba* is the title of the root text.<sup>599</sup> However, the colophon adds "*The Commentary on the Secret Bliss of Bodhicitta* , [so-] called by me gNyags Jñānakumara; *The Wish-fulfilling Jewel* is concluded."<sup>600</sup> I interpret this sentence to mean that the title of the root text was *The Wish-fulfilling Jewel*, but gNyags Jñānakumara gave a new title to his commentary. However, it is also possible to interpret *Yid bzhin nor bu* as the commentary's title.

## 5. The *rDzogs pa spyi chings*

The *rDzogs pa spyi chings* is the fourth of the texts listed in Klong chen pa thought lost.<sup>601</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* gives the variant title *bKa' lung gi spyi chings*. According to Nyang Ral, it teaches that "the mind (of enlightenment) encompasses all Vehicles"<sup>602</sup> The *mKhas pa'i dga ston* says that it "clearly distinguishes between the vehicles"<sup>603</sup>. Both *mKhas pa'i dga ston* and *Vairo rgyud 'bum* place it in the category of the four greater or

<sup>597</sup> *nges pa'i 'bras bu don dam gcig bstan no/ thams cad mnyam pa'i klung du ngang gis gnas / bde ba'i sgron me 'di las gzhan med do /*

<sup>598</sup> pp. 360.4-361 /362.1

<sup>599</sup> Commentary titles in this volume of the *bKa' ma* usually incorporate the root text title first, (e.g. *rTse mo byung rgyal 'grel*). See the index on pp. 3-4. It is unusual for a commentary to have its own different title, and where this is the case it is made explicit (e.g. p. 139 - *Byang chub sems sgom pa don drug pa'i 'grel pa rin po che'i sgron me zhes bya ba bzhugs*).

<sup>600</sup> p. 361 /362.1-2. *Byang chub sems gsang ba bde ba'i 'grel pa / bdag gnyag dza+nya' na ku ma ras btags pa / yid bzhin nor bu rdzogs so.*

<sup>601</sup> According to Jim Valby, 27 September 2007, personal communication

<sup>602</sup> *Zangs gling ma*, in *Rin chen gter mdzod* Vol. 1, p.78-9: *sems kyis theg pa thams cad spyir bcings pa'i phyir*. Translated in Kunsang 1999, p. 93 as "to demonstrate and epitomise all the vehicles within awakened mind".

<sup>603</sup> *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* vol. 1, p.221: *theg pa'i shan 'byed pa spyi chings*.

larger texts, together with the *rDo la gser zhun*. The lists differ in their spelling of the title.<sup>604</sup>

Its title and characterizations disclose that the *sPyi chings* differentiated between the various *yānas* recognised at the time of its composition. Such a work has several early parallels – most notably, the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* attributed to Padmasambhava, and of course, the STMG itself. Such expositions eventually gave rise to the *grub mtha'* literary genre. However, one would expect the *sPyi chings* to give clear precedence to rDzogs chen, judging by Nyang Ral's description that the mind of enlightenment, (and by implication, rDzogs chen) encompasses all Vehicles.

The STMG contains four citations from the *sPyi chings*<sup>605</sup> - all of them in Chapter Seven, on rDzogs chen. The first citation is linked to the concept of the *bdag nyid chen po*, (the "great self", or "great state")<sup>606</sup> which the *bSam gtan mig sgron* describes as "the great selfless self".<sup>607</sup> The next citation is very short. It describes how the realization of the insubstantiality of phenomena and consequent release of attachment to duality leads to the state of natural great bliss.<sup>608</sup> The third citation illustrates the futility of seeking the ultimate truth through mental analysis or reasoning.<sup>609</sup> The final citation<sup>610</sup> picks up on

<sup>604</sup> The *Vairo rgyud 'bum* precedes *ching* with an *a-chung*; Klong chen pa's *Grub mtha' mdzod* adds a postfix -s; the *Me tog snying po* spells *spyi* as *phyir*. Some texts also omit the preceding "rdzogs pa".

<sup>605</sup> The STMG spells it *spyi bcings*.

<sup>606</sup> Lipman (Norbu and Lipman 1986, p. 152) renders this multivalent term as "the all-inclusive self of the individual". Guenther (1984, pp. 156, 162, 281 n. 40) gives "true individuality". I prefer Esler's "integral being" (See Esler, forthcoming, p. 55 n. 43), since it is less likely to be misconstrued as referring to a reified personal "self" in the Brahmanical sense (*ātman*).

<sup>607</sup> STMG 329.4: *des na bdag nyid chen po'i ngang la gzhan pa'i* (329.5) *chos ma bkol bar bdag nyid kyi snubs pa'o // de ci'i phyir zhe na / spyi bcings las /bdag ni yod do /gzhan ni med do /bdag gzhan chen* (329.6) *po lhun gyis grub pas yod do /kun tu bzang po'i ngang du gcig pas gzhan med de / zhes bya ba'i don gyis / bdag* (330.1) *gzhan du snang 'dzin ngang gis dag pa la / nga med pa'i nga chen po ni bdag nyid chen po'o /*

<sup>608</sup> STMG 453.1: *spyi bcings las /ma bkag ci bde byang chub yan du khye..*

<sup>609</sup> *'o na don nyid re* (295.5) *zhig gang gis mtshon zhe na // spyi bcings las kyang /gsang sngags rgya mtsho chen po ni /dpe dang tshad ma gtan tshigs dang /rjes su dpag pa'i shes* (295.6) *rab kyis /rtogs par nus pa ma yin te /de bas gsang sngags bdag nyid che /dngos grub rlabs chen 'phrags pa can /bsam yas* (296.1) *gting ni dpag dka' bas /lung dang man ngag thob pas 'grub /ces 'byung..* This passage is translated in Karmay 1988, p. 110.

<sup>610</sup> *De kho na rdzogs* (311.4) *pa chen po yin te / de la ni bya ba dang mthong ba ni med do /zhes smra ba'i gang zag ni / rdzogs chen du khas 'ches nas dbu ma'i bsam gtan la* (311.5) *rten 'cha' ba yin / sbyi bcings las kyang /rdzogs chen bla na med par khas 'ches nas /ston men bsam gtan tsam la rten 'cha' ba /rgyal* (311.6)

gNubs Sang rgyas ye shes' differentiation between the view of rDzogs chen and mere emptiness verging on nihilism. Even though the author distinguishes between rDzogs chen and Madhyamaka<sup>611</sup>, the *sPyi chings* citation refers to the Chan school of simultaneous enlightenment (*ston mun*).<sup>612</sup>

This suggests, of course, that at the time of composition of the *sPyi chings*, some scholars sought to distinguish rDzogs chen from Chan. In later centuries the superficial similarities between the two traditions exposed rDzogs chen followers to fierce criticism at the hands of proponents of the New Schools.

The STMG contains one more reference (in chapter 6, on Mahāyoga) to a *Man ngag spyi bcings*. It features in Chapter Six on Mahāyoga. gNubs Sang rgyas ye shes first cites a passage from another text concerning the error of regarding the absolute and relative truths as being different. He then states that this point is also clearly made in the "*man ngag spyi bcings*", as he has already set out earlier.<sup>613</sup>

In my search to locate the four *sPyi chings* citations, I examined numerous texts.<sup>614</sup> Eventually I located all the cited passages, embedded as lemmata in the *sPyi gsang sngags lung gi 'grel pa*.<sup>615</sup> This commentarial text is attributed to gNyags Jñānakumara, both on the title page and in the colophon.

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*po'i sras 'bangs babs pa lung dang 'gal /zhes 'byung ste / des rgyal po'i sras dam pa 'bangs su babs pa dang 'dra ste / lung dang yang 'gal (312.1) lo /* This passage is translated in Karmay 1988, p. 112.

<sup>611</sup> However, Karmay points out that the *Cig car ba* doctrine considered itself to be *bdu ma /Madhyamaka*, referencing Dunhuang texts (PT 117 and PT 812); Karmay 1988, p. 112 n. 27.

<sup>612</sup> On this term see Karmay 1988, p. 88 n. 13.

<sup>613</sup> STMG 284.3 *man ngag spyi bcings las kyang gsal bar 'byung / de ni sngar yang bkod zin to /*

<sup>614</sup> These included: in the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, the *Byang chub sems kyi spyi lung chen po rdzogs pa'i rgyud* (Bg 99, Vol.4); Bg 124, Bg 125, (vol. 5); Bg 130, Bg 167 (vol 6). In mTshams brag: *Sems lung chen moi' mdo gsang ba spyi rgyud* (Tb.126); *rDzogs pa chen po byang chub kyi sems rin po che spung ba gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud* (Tb.101); Tb 115; Tb 132; Tb 159; Tb 160; *Byang chub sems kyi spyi lung chen po rdzogs pa'i rgyud /man ngag gser gyi ru sba bskum pa'i rgyud* (Tb 175); *A ti rdzogs pa chen po'i rgyud* (Tb 231); *Lta ba shan chen po rin chen sgron ma rtsa ba'i rgyud* (Tb 252); Another text, the *rDzogs pa chen po'i spyi chings*, was authored by gZhan phan mtha' yas 'od zer (18th-19th century CE).

<sup>615</sup> KSG vol. 103, p. 439.

It was sometimes difficult to distinguish the text of the *sPyi chings* from the commentary. In general, however, I determined that there are four main ways in which the commentary introduces and demarcates its root-text citations:

1. The previous clause terminates emphatically with the final particle "o".
2. The previous clause ends with a rhetorical phrase indicating that what follows will address a possible question or objection. E.g. *snyam pa la*.<sup>616</sup>
3. The previous clause ends with the phrase *bstan pa'i phyir*.<sup>617</sup>
4. The citation is followed by an end-quote phrase. E.g. *zhes bya ba*.

Cantwell and Mayer recently encountered similar difficulties in isolating the text of the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. Cantwell remarked that there was often a "fuzzy boundary" between this text and its own commentary. The Dunhuang copy of this text<sup>618</sup> tends to highlight its lemmata with a semi-transparent wash, although not consistently. This shows that the Dunhuang scribe understood the boundaries between the root text and commentary. However, the sDe dge and bKa' 'gyur versions of the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* include the commentary undifferentiated from the root text.<sup>619</sup> I surmise that a similar process may have taken place with the *sPyi chings*.

Another factor in the disappearance of the *sPyi chings* may have been the development of the *grub mtha'* genre itself. The proliferation of later systems of classification and analysis of the various vehicles could have left its treatment of these themes sounding outmoded. In particular, its discussion of the Chan (*ston mun*) school, apparently already altered to Madhyamaka in gNubs Sang rgyas ye shes' comment on one passage, supports this hypothesis.

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<sup>616</sup> "To whoever thinks..."

<sup>617</sup> "In order to show..."

<sup>618</sup> This is IOL Tib J 321 42r-45r.

<sup>619</sup> Cantwell, C. Remarks in a lecture on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* delivered at SOAS 17 /3 /2010.



## v Two "Unlisted" Texts

Three titles are regularly found in the various editions of the NGB among the Eighteen Major Scriptures - the *gNam spar 'debs*, *bDe ba'i myu gu*, and the *Khams gsum sgron ma*. I have already touched on these in my discussion of the *Yid bzhin nor bu*. I call these "unlisted" since they do not occur in any of the actual lists of the Eighteen Major Scriptures that I examined.<sup>620</sup> This means that, despite their inclusion among the other texts in our sources, their doxographical status is uncertain.

In the *Vairo rgyud 'bum*, I have located only one of the three, the *gNam spar 'debs*. It is the last text in Vol. Ka, after the *bDe ba 'phra bkod*<sup>621</sup>. mTshams brag however, contains all three in volume Ka, where they are grouped with the Eighteen Major Scriptures.<sup>622</sup> gTing skyes omits the *gNam spar 'debs* but includes the other two in volume Ka, again among the Eighteen Major Scriptures.<sup>623</sup> The Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu edition follows the gTing skyes order here.<sup>624</sup> sDe dge includes the *Byang sems myu gu* among a few others of the Eighteen Major Scriptures in its sixth volume (Cha). The *Khams gsum sgron ma* appears with the *rJe btsan dam pa* and *Kun 'dus* in its *kha skong ba* volume of supplemental texts.<sup>625</sup> The *gNam spar 'debs* is absent.

Since I believe the *Khams gsum sgron ma* to be identical with the *Yid bzhin nor bu*, I shall confine my remarks here to the *gNam spar 'debs* and the *bDe ba'i myu gu*.

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<sup>620</sup> With the exception already noted above of the *Byang sems myu gu* in O rgyan gling pa, and also in Sog zlog pa's revised list.

<sup>621</sup> Bg. 22 pp.467.1-496.1

<sup>622</sup> Tb.33 is the *gNam spar 'debs*; Tb.34 the *bDe ba'i myu gu*; Tb. 36 the *Khams gsum sgron ma*

<sup>623</sup> Tk.29 is the *Byang chub kyi sems bde ba'i myu gu*; Tk. 32 the *Byang chub kyi sems khams gsum sgron ma*.

<sup>624</sup> Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu Vol. ka. Ka 30 is the *Byang chub kyi sems bde ba'i myu gu*; Ka 33 the *Khams gsum sgron ma*

<sup>625</sup> sDe dge vol. Cha Dg.131 is the *Byang sems myu gu*; vol.25 (ra) Dg 435 is the *Khams gsum sgron ma*

### *The gNam spar 'debs*<sup>626</sup>

This is the shorter of the two texts, at just over 1 folio in length. Its homage to rDo rje bskal pa'i bdag po is unusual, and not repeated in any of the accepted Eighteen Major Scriptures. It has no colophon. It discusses the "ten natures of Tantra" (*rgyud kyi rang bzhin /dngos po bcu*). These are fundamental aspects of tantric practice, and constitute the means of realization. They vary from text to text<sup>627</sup>, but include here *mudrā*, *maṇḍala*, *samaya*, blessing, dedication, offering, enlightened activity and initiation. All of these aspects are described as spontaneously accomplished, without effort, simultaneously rather than gradually.

Mind Series literature, in general, rejects the need for elaborate invocation, visualization of deities, and other standard aspects of Mahāyoga practice. Germano argued that such rejection distinguishes what he calls "pristine" from later "funerary" rDzogs chen discourse.<sup>628</sup> However, Mahāyoga practice continued throughout the period when rDzogs chen emerged as a distinct tradition. The degree to which it was integrated with rDzogs chen discourse probably had as much to do with the proclivities of individual practitioners and their lineages as with the passage of time. Therefore Germano's distinction, while useful, cannot be taken as a firm guideline for dating particular texts.

### *The bDe ba'i myu gu*<sup>629</sup>

This text is about 3 folios in length. It follows immediately after the *gNam spar 'debs* in mTshams brag. It is interested in similar themes, deploys a common vocabulary and near-

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<sup>626</sup> The title perhaps means "Lighting up the sky". It is similar to the title of a *Guhyagarbhatantra* commentary by the eighth-century master Vilāsavajra, the (*Rin po che*) *sPar khabs* (Otani 4718).

<sup>627</sup> For a summary of these see Norbu and Clemente 1999, p. 275, n. 146.

<sup>628</sup> Germano denotes as "pristine" those rDzogs chen texts that contain no tantric ritual elements. He considers these to pre-date rDzogs chen works containing what he terms "funerary" discourse and praxis connected with death and the experiences of the after-death state (*bar do*) that generally lead to rebirth. Germano 2005, *passim*.

<sup>629</sup> Regarding the title, *bDe ba'i myu gu*, literally "The bud of bliss" compare Dalton 2004, p. 10 n.23, where he notes that *myu gu* in IOL Tib J 464 refers to semen /*bodhicitta* drop.

identical phrasing. For example the *gNam spar 'deb* phrase *thug rjer bcas pa'i pho brang* is echoed with *thugs rjer bcas pa'i 'phrin le* in the *bDe ba'i myu gu*.<sup>630</sup>

The *bDe ba'i myu gu*, like the *gNam spar 'deb*, rejects the need for the gradual practice of deity yoga. It holds that the blissful state of *bdag nyid chen po* is not dependent on initiations, transmission, or on mantra.<sup>631</sup> It speaks of the constituents of the vajra body-system (*rdo rje skye mched*), and makes frequent references to "*thig le*".<sup>632</sup> The blessings of awareness (*rig pa*) are said to produce the marvelous display of phenomenal diversity.<sup>633</sup> It contains several examples of *myong tshig*, terms that describe experiences arising in meditation specific to rDzogs chen.<sup>634</sup> Finally, in its conclusion it describes its teaching as "the supreme nectar, instruction of the *ḍākinīs*"<sup>635</sup> and seeks to prevent its transmission to unsuitable people.

The references to the vajra body system, *rig pa*, and the *myong tshig*, suggest that the *bDe ba'i myu gu* is later than the Eighteen Major Scriptures. Furthermore, the *bDe ba'i myu gu*'s connection with the *ḍākinīs*, and its stern closing admonition, find closer echoes in *gter ma* literature than in the Eighteen Major Scriptures. Since both the *bDe ba'i myu gu* and the *gNam spar 'deb* deploy similar phrases I suspect that both may have been written by the same author. However, the question of their authorship requires further research.

<sup>630</sup> *Gnam spar 'debs* (Tb. 33) p. 626.3 ; *bDe ba'i myu gu* (Tb.34) p. 628.7.

<sup>631</sup> Tb. 34 p. 629.3 *bde chen nam mkha' lta bu ni / (4) dag pas thams cad gsal ba dang / yangs pas kun la khyab pa yang / bdag nyid chen po yin par gsungs /*; p.629.5 *dus kyi lung la mi rten cing / thos pa'i dbang la mi ltos par (6) rang dbang klung du gyur pa na / bde bas bdag nyid chen po yin*.

<sup>632</sup> Tb 34 p. 630.6-7.

<sup>633</sup> Tb 34 p. 629.7 *rig pa'i byin rlabs sna tshogs kyis / cho phrul cir yang snang bar mdzad*.

<sup>634</sup> Tb 34 p. 632.7 : *ma le ti le lhang nge ba'o*; p. 634.2 : *gsal la 'byung 'jug lhan ne bos*. There are also some instances of these terms in Dunhuang Chan texts.

<sup>635</sup> Tb 34 p. 634.4 : *'da' ka'i gdams ngag rgyal po'i bdud rtsi 'di /rang dbang sems kyi bcud du brtags pa las / (5) rmongs shing 'phyar ba'i gang zag phal pa la / bsgrags shing brjod na rang srog lta ba nyams* .

## Conclusion

The organization of *sems sde* texts into numerical categories such as the Eighteen Major Scriptures remained for centuries a fluid process of interchange. It did not derive from an original or definitive doxographical structure.

The history of the Thirteen Later Translations is particularly chequered. Certain texts such as the *rDo la gser zhun*, the *rMad du byung ba*, and the *bsGom pa don grub* shifted repeatedly between the Thirteen Later Translations and the *sNga 'gyur lnga*.

The Eighteen Major Scriptures were absorbed into, or "nested" within, longer texts such as Tb 40 or the *Kun byed rgyal po*. Paraphrases appeared, bearing the titles of the originals. An example is Tb 41, for which I have proposed an early thirteenth century date. Klong chen pa's lists would probably have acted as a stabilizing influence for a time, but around the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, they were again revised on the initiative of Sog zlog pa. By this date, the texts' transmission had become tenuous, and four (or possibly five) of the titles still listed by Klong chen pa had been lost.

The citations contained in the STMG allowed me to identify four of these missing texts. Today the *bsGom pa don grub* is extant in free-standing form only in the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. The six-fold schema adopted by Tb 40, which knew this text as *Zab mo don drug*, perhaps led to its temporary disappearance.

I discovered the STMG citations from the missing *Yid bzhin nor bu* in the *Khams gsum sgron ma*. The *Khams gsum sgron ma* is one of the three "unlisted" texts that are regularly situated among the Thirteen Later Translations in the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. Chapter Ten of Tb 41, which matches the text of the *Khams gsum sgron ma* but is entitled *Yid bzhin nor bu'i le'u*, confirms the identification.

Moreover, I traced the single STMG citation from the missing *Byang chub sems tig* to one of the two versions of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*.<sup>636</sup> I explored some of the implications of this discovery, but more work is needed to clarify the intertextual relationships.

I established that the STMG citations from the *Thig le drug pa* are not contained in the *Mi gyur ba'i thig le tig*, which some scholars previously identified as the *Thig le drug pa*. In contrast, I demonstrated that all these citations appear in Chapter Three of Tb 124, a text that shows affinities with the *rDo la gser zhun*. My examination of the passages quoted from the missing *sPyi chings* identified this text as an early forerunner of the *grub mtha'* genre. I located these passages in a *bKa' ma* commentary called *gSang ngags lung gi 'grel pa*, from which I extracted the *sPyi chings* root text.

Finally, my examination has investigated the fate of the remaining two "unlisted" texts, the *gNam spar 'debs* and the *bDe ba'i myu gu*. Both display interest in connected themes and language; both assume that the reader is familiar with Mahāyoga practice, and reject the need for such practice in rDzogs chen. This led me to propose that a single author probably wrote both texts.

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<sup>636</sup> Of course, the prevalence throughout Tibetan literature of what modern literary culture, with a very different view of textual production, would regard as plagiarism, means that matching a single-line citation is admittedly not a very firm basis on which to identify a text.

## ***B Issues of Composition***

### **i The Question of Sanskrit Originals**

The subject of supposed Sanskrit originals of rDzogs chen texts is a tricky one. The evidence is slender, and many of the opinions expressed in the past have tended to be subjective, at best, or partisan, at worst. In what follows I draw no firm conclusions, merely presenting some thoughts that may perhaps point the way towards further research.

rNying ma tradition holds that rDzogs chen originated in India, and that the earliest texts preserved in Tibetan are translations from the Sanskrit. However, the Mind Series corpus has not survived in Sanskrit; its Indian originals were reportedly last spotted in the 12th century.<sup>637</sup> Critics from the New Schools, pointing to the absence of evidence of their Indic origin, called the authenticity of these texts into question. This affected in particular the *Guhyagarbha tantra*, itself an important formative factor for early rDzogs chen.<sup>638</sup> If the transmission lineages of Indic rDzogs chen texts were closely-linked to those of the *Guhyagarbha tantra*, failure to locate any rDzogs chen texts in India would be for the same reason that no Indic copy of the *Guhyagarbha* was found there. The lineage of both must have died out in India by the eleventh century.

Bu ston, compiling the *bKa' 'gyur* in the fourteenth century, omitted the rNying ma tantras from his sNar thang canon since they lacked Sanskrit originals. He conceded, however, that his own teachers had seen Sanskrit originals of rNying ma tantras housed at bSam yas.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>637</sup> On the Sanskrit text of the *Thig le drug pa*, see below.

<sup>638</sup> In this case, however, the criticisms were shown to be false when Śākyaśrībhadra vouched for the authenticity of a Sanskrit manuscript of the tantra discovered in bSam yas monastery, as recorded in the Blue Annals. See Roerich 1988, p. 103.

<sup>639</sup> He states this in the canon catalogue he appended to his *Chos 'byung chen mo*. See Neumaier-Dargay, 1992, p. 25 n. 63.

Rat na gling pa (1403–1479) explains the absence of Sanskrit rDzogs chen texts in his *Seng ge'i nga ro*.<sup>640</sup> He recounts how Vimalamitra<sup>641</sup>, about to depart India for Tibet, removed all of the rDzogs chen teachings previously hidden by Indian pandits under a vase-shaped pillar at Bodh Gaya. He took them all away with him, and "thereby the root of all Indian books [of the Great Perfection] was severed".<sup>642</sup> This account, of course, begs the question of why not a single Sanskrit rDzogs chen text survived in Tibet itself.

The Thirteen Later Translations, through their very name, claim to be of non-Tibetan origin. Seven<sup>643</sup> of the thirteen give Sanskrit titles in their incipits.

<b>Tibetan text title</b>	<b>Sanskrit title<sup>644</sup></b>
Thig le drug pa <sup>645</sup>	Mahāsandhidharmatābodhicitta bindusamudrasthāvatāratāntra
bDe 'byams	Mañjusukha
bDe ba phra bkod	Sukhaprakate
Kun 'dus	Sa rba a ta (= Sarvata ?)
rJe btsan dam pa	Tsa ra sha ar tha' (?)
Srog gi 'khor lo	A yo tsa kra (= Āyucakra)
sGom pa don grub <sup>646</sup>	Bo dhi tsi ta sa ma ti a mo gha tsa na ma (=bodhicitta samādhyamoghaca nama?)

<sup>640</sup> *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i sgron me rtsod zlog seng ge'i nga ro*.

<sup>641</sup> Neumaier-Dargay (idem, p. 47, n. 50) queries "whether the text should not better read Vairocana instead of Vimalamitra, as the subsequent story tells how the latter has received his share of Great Perfection texts. Furthermore, the first part of the quote deals with Vairocana and not Vimalamitra." However, reading the whole passage, Vimalamitra is named repeatedly in this story, and far too many times for this to be a simple one-off error.

<sup>642</sup> Quoted in Neumaier-Dargay, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22. She comments that this whole story "smacks of a cover up" to explain why there are no Indian Great Perfection texts.

<sup>643</sup> I include in this figure the complete text that contains what I take to be the *Thig le drug pa*, Tb 124. I omit the Sanskrit title given for the sDe dge version of the *Khams gsum sgron ma*.

<sup>644</sup> I have kept the Tibetanized spelling in those titles where I am unsure of what the Sanskrit would be.

<sup>645</sup> Chapter three of the *rDzogs pa chen po chos nyid byang chub kyi sems thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud*, Tb 124. There is no separate Sanskrit title for this chapter; I give that of the whole work.

<sup>646</sup> Sanskrit title given in the Rig 'dzin version.

Of course, the existence of a Sanskrit title does not constitute proof of a Sanskrit original. It is quite possible that the Sanskrit titles are pious reconstructions or forgeries designed to enhance the authenticity of the texts. Nor is it clear why only seven cite a Sanskrit title. On the other hand, even if these titles could be shown to be forgeries, that itself would not establish Tibetan origin. We know of several genuine Indic works that bear false, reconstructed titles. The *Guhyendutilaka*, for example, cited in numerous extant Sanskrit works, has a Sanskrit title in the Tibetan incipit (*candra-guhya-tilaka*) that has evidently been reconstructed from *zla gsang thig le*.<sup>647</sup>

Rather than just focusing on its title, a close reading that pays attention to style and syntax is perhaps more helpful to establish the origin of a work. Tibetan translations from Sanskrit were usually very faithful to their originals; it was counted a virtue if they were literal enough for a back-translation into Sanskrit to be easily accomplished. As Tibetan morphology and syntax are very distant from those of Sanskrit, this could sometimes result in a slightly stilted or unnatural Tibetan style. Where such a style is detected, it is reasonable to suggest that the text may be a translation. But even the most exacting analysis of linguistic and stylistic features can be deceptive. Bu ston, for example, excluded the entire rNying ma *Vajrakīla* cycle from the *bKa' 'gyur* on such grounds, even though the great scholar Sakya Paṇḍita had seen (and himself translated) a Sanskrit palm leaf manuscript of one of its texts.<sup>648</sup>

I dealt already with Dam pa bde gsheg's claim in the twelfth century that the *Thig le drug pa* was extant in Sanskrit.<sup>649</sup> His wording implies that this was unusual, if not unique, for these texts. Two aspects of Tb 124, the text that I believe to contain the *Thig le drug pa*, hint at a possible Indic origin. First, it contains a high number of Tibetan modal adverbs, normally used to translate Sanskrit verbal prefixes. The prefix *rab tu*, equivalent to

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<sup>647</sup> See Wedemeyer, 2009 p. 7.

<sup>648</sup> That is, the *Phur pa rtsa dum*. See Smith, 2001, p. 238.

<sup>649</sup> See page 119.



Sanskrit *pra-*, is most frequent.<sup>650</sup> Its deployment verges at times on the superfluous: *rab tu rnam dag grol bar* or *rab tu rdzogs par mdzad*. Second, the text very often adds the reflexive particle *nyid* to Tibetan verbal nouns in order to translate perhaps a Sanskrit abstract noun.<sup>651</sup> The *Thig le drug pa*, however, admittedly differs in style and character from the remaining 12 Later Translations. Even if we limit ourselves to Chapter Three, the core chapter that contains all of the STMG citations from the *Thig le drug pa*, this chapter has much more in common with the *rDo la gser zhun*, itself something of an exceptional case among the Five Earlier Translations.

In summary, the evidence for translation of the 13 texts from Sanskrit is tenuous. None of the 13, bar the *Thig le drug pa* perhaps, displays incontrovertible and consistent features that would indicate a Sanskrit original. More work needs to be done in this area in order to draw any definite conclusion, however.

## ii Authorship and Dating

Two of the Thirteen Later Translations are linked to masters who flourished during the early ninth century. Most of gNyan dpal dbyang's *Thabs shes sgron ma* is found in the *rTse mo byung rgyal*. Ācārya gSal ba rgyal may well have been the author of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*. The *Srog gi 'khor lo* is connected with one rDo rje legs rtsal, who the colophon states “drew it forth from his mind (*thugs las phyung*)”<sup>652</sup>. Since I have already discussed gNyan dpal dbyangs, I confine my discussion here to the last two masters.

Ācārya gSal ba rgyal is known to us through early lineage lists as an eminent rDzogs chen master. gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes received teachings from him in India. The very

<sup>650</sup> *Rab tu* occurs on fol. 51r.2,4 (p. 101); fol. 51v.1; fol. 52r.2; fol. 54r.1; fol. 56r.2; fol. 56v.7; fol. 58r.1; fol. 58v.1; fol. 60r.2; fol. 61r.5 (x2); fol. 62r.1; fol. 62r.5; fol. 63r.7.

<sup>651</sup> Examples include: *byang chub sems nyid*; *gsal ba nyid*; *dgongs pa nyid*; *rgyas pa nyid*; *thams cad mkhyen nyid*.

<sup>652</sup> *Srog gi 'khor lo*, fol. 301r.3.

title *ācārya* indicates that he was of Indic origin.<sup>653</sup> His connection with the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* is extremely significant, therefore, since it links, for the first time, an early rDzogs chen work to a non-Tibetan origin.

Does the doctrinal approach of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* accord, then, with what we know about the views of Ācārya gSal ba rgyal? The notes incorporated in the STMG refer twice to Ācārya gSal ba rgyal, which gives us valuable information about his stance on rDzogs chen:

Some hold<sup>654</sup> that the meditation of Atiyoga is the Realization of Space (*klong phol ba*)<sup>655</sup>. As it says in the *Ocean-[like] Space*<sup>656</sup> - "not to be distracted from the realization of the primordially-existing great spacious meaning - this is the meditation of space of the great *bodhicitta* ." <sup>657</sup>

gNubs chen then describes this meditation. One just allows the mind to settle naturally (*rang bzhag*) into awareness (*rig pa*)<sup>658</sup>, neither deliberately letting go of it nor practising mindfulness.<sup>659</sup> Prolongation of this state through what he describes as "diligence without

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<sup>653</sup> Dalton proposes \*Prakāśālamkāra as the Sanskrit form of his name. See Dalton 1992, p. 280.

<sup>654</sup> A line of dots connects this to the note that states that this is the explanation of Ācārya gSal ba rgyal.

<sup>655</sup> *Klong phol ba* is otherwise unattested. *Phol* is an archaic term, whose range of meaning includes: realize, perceive, know, be aware. The phrase *klong phol* I believe is likely to be analagous to *klong brdol*, spontaneous realization or inspiration, or overflowing. *Klong nas brdol ba* means to burst forth from space. Thus I believe the phrase *klong phol ba* conveys the notion of awareness spontaneously erupting from the dimension of primordial knowledge, figuratively described as space.

<sup>656</sup> This is the title of a text, perhaps the *Byang chub kyi sems rgya mtsho klong dgu'i rgyud*, mTshams brag Tb 69 (vol. Ga pp. 370.3-415.6), and also VGB vol. Ga pp. 37.1 - 73.6, whose colophon states it was translated by Śrī Simha and Vairocana.

<sup>657</sup> STMG p. 412.3: *rgya mtsho klong las / ye yin klong chen don rtogs ma yengs pa / byang chub sems chen klong gi bsgom pa yin / zhes*.

<sup>658</sup> gNubs uses the term *rig pa* in his explanation, but this is not found in the citation from the *rGya mtsho klong*, nor does it appear anywhere in the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*.

<sup>659</sup> STMG 412.4: *zhes pa'i don dang sbyar na / gongs du lta bas thag chod pas ci yang rig pa med pas rig pa sems ched du ma btang ma shor tsam du (412.5) dran pas dran rgyu med pa rang bzhag na / de bsgom pa ma nor ba ste*.

action" (*bya ba med brtson 'grus*), then leads to the natural manifestation of "the true nature of things, the [universal] grandmother."<sup>660</sup>

The second passage linked to gSal ba rgyal quotes from one of the Five Earlier Translations, the *Khyung chen*. Here is the relevant passage:

Furthermore, some hold (a teaching of gSal ba rgyal<sup>661</sup>) that the great meditator who dwells in the Great Perfection rests the mind thus; as the *Khyung chen* says: "appearances like an ocean; non-thought as expansive as the limitless sky". The meaning of this is that one should not repress, hold onto, or be mindful of any of the phenomena that appear from the natural clarity in the great ocean of the wisdom of awareness. Just as one does not grasp at the gleam of a star [reflected] in the brightness of the ocean, one's own awareness does not repress anything that naturally arises, and does not intellectualize non-thought, but rests undifferentiated from the mind (*blo*) in limitless natural clarity.<sup>662</sup>

The mTshams brag version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* develops a similar interpretation of material phenomena. Here, the word "emanation" is analagous to the term "appearances" in the *Khyung chen* quotation: "The great assembly of the ocean-like multitude of emanations cannot stir even an atom from the effortless truth"<sup>663</sup>. The sDe dge *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* version, dismissing formal practice, asks: "What is the point?

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<sup>660</sup> STMG 412.5: *de yang bya ba med pa'i brtson 'grus kyis yun brsings na / phyi mo chos nyid rang mngon du gyur ro.*

<sup>661</sup> The text shown here in parenthesis is a note.

<sup>662</sup> STMG p.413.3-414.1: *yang rnam gcig [gSal ba rgyal gyi bzhed cig] tu rdzogs pa chen po la gnas pa'i sgom chen pos blo 'di bzhin du bzhag ste / khyung chen las / snang ba mtsho chen po bzhin / mi rtog nam mkha'i mtha' ltar yangs / ces pa'i don dan sbyar na / rig pa'i ye shes kyi rgya mtsho chen por rang gsal ba las / snang ba'i chos gang yang mi 'gog mi gzung / yid la mi bya ste / rgya mtsho dwangs pa la gza' skar gsal la mi 'dzin pa ltar / rang rig pa cir yang rang shar ba la mi 'gog mi rtog par blos ma bsam par rang gsal ba yangs dog med pas blo tha dad med par bzhag ces bya'o.*

<sup>663</sup> *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* fol. 303r. 3-4: *sprul pa mang po rgya mtsho'i tshogs chen gyis / bya med don las rdul tsam bskyod mi nus.*

Non-thought and the Dharmakaya are the same." It also describes its own approach as the "great method of non-thought"<sup>664</sup>.

The central metaphor of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* remains, of course, the sky, not the more abstract "space" (*klong*). The two notions are, however, sufficiently close that I think we can easily recognise that they refer to similar views. To quote from the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*: "From the inconceivable sky, the non-conceptual knowledge of the victorious ones arises in oneself."<sup>665</sup> The idea that knowledge of reality arises in oneself / of itself (expressed by the term *rang shar*), and the emphasis on spacious expansiveness, seem to be two defining features of the view of gSal ba rgyal.

It may be objected that gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes illustrates the view ascribed to gSal ba rgyal not with citations from the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* but through an extract from the *Khyung chen* here. However, tradition regards the *garuda* as the King of Birds – in other words, as the king of the sky. Moreover, the *Khyung chen* also relies on the metaphor of the sky, as does the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*. Finally, the *Sems sde bco brgyad kyi dgongs pa rig 'dzin rnams kyis rdo rje'i glur bzhengs pa* describes the *Khyung chen* as "the meditation song of spontaneous realization of the *dharmatā*" (*chos nyid klong rdol glu yi bsam gtan*).<sup>666</sup> Thus it includes the term *klong rdol*, which I suspect to be analagous to *klong phol*, the view that the STMG ascribes to gSal ba rgyal.

Ācārya gSal ba rgyal<sup>667</sup> wrote several texts on sādhanas and empowerments based on the *dGongs [pa] 'dus [pa'i mdo]*.<sup>668</sup> Although the rNying ma school classified this text later

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<sup>664</sup> *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* (sDe dge version), fol. 90v.7: *mi rtog thabs chen*.

<sup>665</sup> *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, fol. 310r. 5-6: *bsam du med pa'i nam mkha' de nyid las/ mi dmigs rgyal ba'i dgongs pa rang la shar*.

<sup>666</sup> p. 298.3

<sup>667</sup> This master is generally known as gSal ba'i rgyan or bDe ba gsal mdzad. See Dalton 1992, p. 278. n. 23. van Schaik, 2004, p. 197, n. 91 identifies him with the gSal ba rgyal mentioned in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*.

<sup>668</sup> van Schaik 2004, p. 197, n.91; Dalton 1992, p. 145, n.20. It is interesting to note that gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes collected his teacher's *dGong 'dus* writings into a set of eighteen texts, composed of three sets of six.

as the root tantra of Anuyoga<sup>669</sup>, gNubs chen clearly regarded it as a rDzogs chen work. This is attested through his frequent *dGongs 'dus* quotations<sup>670</sup> in the rDzogs chen chapter of the STMG.

It is conceivable that an earlier version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, or text related to it, perhaps known as the *Byang chub sems tig*, contained doctrinal positions that came to be distinguished as Anuyoga. If this was the case, it would perhaps explain why the *Byang chub sems tig* failed to survive. Moreover, in his commentary on the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes provides us with the earliest dateable citation from any of the Eighteen Major Scriptures. Although he speaks only of "the precept" (*man ngag*), the passage he cites is now found in the sDe dge version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*.<sup>671</sup>

rDo rje legs rtsal<sup>672</sup>, ostensible author of the *Srog gi 'khor lo*, is named in a lineage list of the Khams tradition (*kham s lugs*) of the Mind Series in Kong sprul's *gDam ngag mdzod*.<sup>673</sup> The source of this list is a text by the Ka' thog master sPyan snga Nam mkha' rdo rje (born 1223).<sup>674</sup> rDo rje legs rtsal features among a series of early Indian rDzogs chen teachers, positioned between dGa' rab rDo rje on the one hand and Śrī Simha and Vairocana on the other.<sup>675</sup> Some of the figures in the list, such as Tshogs bdag (*Ganapati*), are to my knowledge otherwise undocumented.<sup>676</sup> Later tradition, with the exception of the east Tibetan Ka' thog school, tended to overlook these very early

<sup>669</sup> The two traditions gradually became more distinct from each other, so that by the sixteenth century Sog zlog pa could even dismiss the *Kun 'dus [rig pa]* – not the same text as the *Rin chen kun 'dus*, although probably confused with it at times – from his revised list of the Thirteen Later Translations on the grounds that it was Anuyoga, not rDzogs chen.

<sup>670</sup> gNubs chen quotes from it under the title *rNal 'byor grub pa'i lung*.

<sup>671</sup> See above p. 125.

<sup>672</sup> The *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* commentary on the *Srog gi 'khor lo* has a variant form of his name, with *btsan* instead of (*b*)rtsal.

<sup>673</sup> I was alerted to this by a reference in Kapstein, 2008, p. 280 n. 15. The list is found in the *Dam ngag mdzod* (1971 edition), vol. 12, p. 74.3.

<sup>674</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 74.2, where the title is given as *khrid yig sgyu 'phrul pra khrid*.

<sup>675</sup> The lineage list after dGa' rab rdo rje is as follows: *'jam bshes /dha te ta la / indra bhu ti /go ma de ba / rab snang brtan /ku ku ra dza / thor tshugs dgu pa / mar me mdzad / shri simha / bai ro tsa na / g.yu sgra snying po / rma dpal gyi rgyal po / gnyan byang chub shes rab / yon tan 'byung gnas / cog ro sgom chung / byams pa sgom chen / byang ston rnam dag / dam pa bde gshegs / chos rje gtsang ston*. The list continues with further names of masters whose dates are well-established.

<sup>676</sup> *Thor tshugs dgu pa* is almost certainly not an individual but a group of "nine who wore top-knots", a mark of yogic status.

masters. It is likely that many of them were contemporary with each other. This led to chronological difficulties in later centuries when scholars attempted to fit them into a consecutive lineage where each represented a generation, causing the less well-remembered to be dropped.<sup>677</sup>

All we know of rDo rje legs rtsal derives from the statement in the colophon of the *Srog gi 'khor lo*:

"The powerful lord of knowledge rDo rje legs rtsal drew forth from his mind (*thugs*) this wheel of Dharma<sup>678</sup> that includes the life-force of all, [these] pith instructions of non-duality called "The Wheel of Life", uttered for the benefit of all yogic practitioners."<sup>679</sup>

The phrase "drew forth from his mind" suggests that the *Srog gi 'khor lo* was perhaps once regarded as a treasure text (*gter ma*), specifically a mind-treasure (*dgongs gter*). If this is merely tantamount to authorship, then it is the only instance where a text of the Thirteen Later Translations themselves gives an historically identifiable author. The *bKa' ma* commentary, however, seems to imply that this is merely an attribution to the person who compiled (*bsdus pa po*) the *man ngag*, not its author.<sup>680</sup>

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<sup>677</sup> See van Schaik 2004, p. 198.

<sup>678</sup> "Wheel of Dharma" is a term indicating a teaching or cycle of teachings.

<sup>679</sup> *Srog gi 'khor lo*, fol. 301r.2: *yongs kyi srog 'dus chos kyi 'khor lo 'di / rang rig dbang phyug rdo rje legs rtsal gyis / rnal 'byor yongs kyi don du bsgrags pa dag / gnyis med man ngag srog gi 'khor lo zhes / thugs las phyung nas / 'gro ba yongs la bsngo*.

<sup>680</sup> The commentary stresses that the work originates in the *Dharmadhātu*, and was then transmitted to its "compiler" (not author), who wrote it down to dedicate its merit for all beings. KSG vol. 103 *Man ngag srog gi 'khor lo'i 'grel pa*, fol. 23v. 5-6 (p. 276): *'di nyid chos kyi dbyings nas bsngo ba la mthar thug par bston pa'i thugs la brgyud de phyung nas bsdus pa pos lung mngon du phyung ba'i bsod nams gyi khyad par ni*.

## *C Key Doctrinal Elements*

### **Ground, Path, and Fruition**

Traditionally, rDzogs chen divides its expositions into teachings of the Ground, Path, and Fruition.<sup>681</sup> The "Ground" (*gzhi*) signifies the state of enlightenment, or Buddhahood, and provides the basis for the whole system. The Thirteen Later Translations symbolise it through the figure of Samantabhadra. In the *rTse mo byung rgyal*, for example, Samantabhadra is equated with the Dharmakāya:

Samantabhadra, the naturally-arising Blessed one, is the single, supreme great<sup>682</sup>  
Dharmakāya.<sup>683</sup>

A great yogin who is able to remain in the state of *bodhicitta* is indivisible from Samantabhadra; the *rJe btsan dam pa* calls him the "King of definitive *samādhi*".<sup>684</sup> The *rTse mo byung rgyal* conflates Samantabhadra with the principle Buddha of the Vajrayāna, Vajrasattva, equating both figures with the realization of great bliss (*bde ba chen po*). Several of the texts describe Samantabhadra as "diversity" (*sna tshog/prapañca*), a term that refers to the enormous variety of phenomena that appear on the material plane. The *rTse mo byung rgyal* calls Samantabhadra "the principal consciousness, the Basis-of-all" (*kun gzhi*)<sup>685</sup>. It continues:

Although he has never stirred from the expanse of naturally-occurring  
primordial wisdom, the one endowed with compassionate energy that

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<sup>681</sup> It should be noted that there is no explicit evidence of this triple structure in the Thirteen Later Translations themselves; I use it here simply for convenience.

<sup>682</sup> "Supremely great" (*che mchog*) is also the name of Che mchog heruka, *heruka* of the *ratna* family

<sup>683</sup> *rTse mo byung rgyal*, fol. 304r.6.

<sup>684</sup> *rJe btsan dam pa*, fol. 297v.1: *byang chub kyi sems bsam gtan nges pa'i rgyal po*.

<sup>685</sup> Here this term must be distinguished from its use for example in the Yogacāra school, where it means the basic consciousness in which karmic traces are stored.

completely pervades a thousand realms, the glorious protector of beings, [is] the diversity [that is] Samantabhadra<sup>686</sup>

Thus the state of enlightenment, transcending both Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa, is not separate from sentient beings. It is non-dual, indivisible, primordially present and accomplished. The *Kun 'dus* says:

The diversity of things, all conventionally-designated objects that appear from the state of Suchness, is the supreme path of *bodhicitta*. Once one has certain knowledge of the supreme *bodhicitta*-essence, where is there any dualistic objective to reach?<sup>687</sup>

For this reason, the *sPyi gcod* says that in the state of Suchness, there is no Path (*lam*), or even enlightenment itself:

[In this] invisible immutability, because it transcends [both] wisdom and method, there is no path and no enlightenment; [and yet] the non-existing essence shines forth. Ha!<sup>688</sup>

Moreover, the texts emphasize that no effort is required to reach this non-destination. The *Khams gsum sgron ma* declares its teaching to be “the path of complete liberation that does not need to be trodden”.<sup>689</sup> The *bDe ba phra bkod* declares that meditation is not necessary, that there is no need for tantric deity practice:

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<sup>686</sup> *rJe btsan dam pa*, fol. 305v.3: *rnam (l.4) par shes pa'i gtso bo kun gyi gzhi / rang byung ye shes dbyings las ma g.yos kyang / stong khams yongs su khyab pa'i thugs rje can / 'gro ba'i dpal mgon sna (l.5) tshogs kun tu bzang*.

<sup>687</sup> *Kun 'dus*, fol. 624.6: *chos rnams sna tshogs ji bzhin snang ba las / tha snyad thams (l.7) cad byang chub mchog gi lam / snying po byang chub mchog tu nges pa las / gzung 'dzin bgrod pa'i yul ni ga la yod*.

<sup>688</sup> *sPyi gcod*, fol. 318r.5-6: *mi snang 'gyur ba med pa ni / shes rab thabs (l.6) las 'das pa'i phyir / lam dang byang chub med pa ste / med pa'i snying po shar ba ha*.

<sup>689</sup> *Khams gsum sgron ma*, p. 636.2: *bgrod med rnam par grol ba'i lam ston pa*.



There is no practice to be accomplished, [and] no fixation upon any deities.  
There is no meditation to be done; [it is] free of any object of attention.<sup>690</sup>

The *sGom pa don sgrub* too denies the need for meditation: the true nature of thought itself corresponds to the *Dharmatā*:

Whatever characteristics of conceptual thought may arise, if one knows that very thought to be the true nature of things, there is no need to meditate on the realm of reality anywhere else.<sup>691</sup>

The *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* goes one step further: it says that there is not even a need to accumulate merit, as the path is spontaneously accomplished:

On the spontaneously-accomplished great path of total purity, one will succeed even if one has no merit.<sup>692</sup>

The texts describe the successful outcome or fruition (*'bras bu*) of this path of non-meditation as something that does not need to be striven for. The *bDe ba phra bkod* says:

Because there is nothing to be accomplished, the fruition is spontaneously accomplished.<sup>693</sup>

The state of fruition is described in such terms as bliss, clear light, and non-dual awareness. The *Kun 'dus*, *bDe 'byams* and *bDe ba phra bkod* declare this state to arise naturally (*rang shar*):

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<sup>690</sup> *bDe ba phra bkod*, fol. 311v. 5-6: *bsgrubs pas bsgrub tu med de lha la rten mi 'cha' / bsgoms (l.6) pas bsgom du med de dmigs pa'i yul dang bral*.

<sup>691</sup> *sGom pa don sgrub*, fol. 185a7: *rnam par rtog pa'i mtshan ma ci byung yang / rtog pa de nyid chos nyid yin shes na / chos kyi dbyings ni gzhan du bsgom mi dgos*.

<sup>692</sup> *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* (mTshams brag version), fol. 303r: *rnam dag lam chen lhun gyis grub pa la / bsod nams med kyang 'grub ces rgyal bas gsungs*.

<sup>693</sup> *bDe ba phra bkod*, fol. 311r.6: *bsgrub tu med pas 'bras bu lhun gyis grub*.

From the unproduced expanse the elixir of awareness arises. Because it is free of all materiality, appearance naturally arises. Free of the concepts of subject and object, bliss arises in oneself. Free from attachment and aversion, the attainment of ultimate realization [is] the mind [of enlightenment].<sup>694</sup>

It is a condition of total equality (*mnyam pa nyid*). Indeed the *Kun 'dus* actually refers to itself as the “Precept of equality”<sup>695</sup>.

A self-aware identity that transcends all limited conceptual notions of the self fills this expanded, pure and boundless state. The *sPyi chings*, in common with several of the texts, dubs this the “Great Self” (*bdag nyid chen po*). Many of the texts, including the *sPyi gcod*, *Srog gi 'khor lo* and *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, compare this state to the vastness of the sky. The *rJe btsan dam pa* hints at the ultimate fruition: attainment (*siddhi*) is achieved when one remains irreversibly in the state of Samantabhadra:

The *siddhi* of the irreversibility of this state [is], in fact, the perfection of all goals in the *mudrā*.<sup>696</sup>

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<sup>694</sup> *bDe ba phra bkod*, fol. 312r.7-312v.1: *skye med dbyings nas rig pa'i bcud shar* (fol. 312 v.) *ba'o / dngos po kun dang bral bas snang ba rang shar ba'o / gzung 'dzin rnam rtog bral bas bde ba rang la shar/chags sdang*<sup>694</sup> *bral bas rtogs pa'i mthar thug pa*<sup>694</sup> / (l.2) *sems la bsgom du med pas tshig gi mtha' las 'das*.

<sup>695</sup> *Kun 'dus*, mTshams brag version, fol. 625.5-6: *mnyam pa nyid kyi man ngag gter chen* (l.6) *gyis*.

<sup>696</sup> *rJe btsan dam pa*, fol. 593.4: *ngang gis mi ldog dngos grub pas / don kun phyag rgyar rdzogs pa yin*.

## Part Two - English Translations of the Thirteen Texts

### Introduction to the Translations – General Reflections on Methodology<sup>697</sup>

The analytic philosopher Donald Davidson<sup>698</sup> speaks of two alternatives that, in practice, face any translator: "faithfulness" or "betrayal". By "faithfulness" he denotes a tendency to strive towards bringing the reader to the author of the source text; "betrayal" is to lean towards the other extreme of bringing the author to the reader.

Faithfulness is the approach most familiar from Tibetan Buddhist history. When Tibetans discuss the translation of their Buddhist texts into other languages, they usually hold up as the ideal a set of formally-standardized translation equivalents. Just as the eighth-century Tibetan *btsan po* harmonized the terminology of his court *lo tsa bas* by royal edict, they often yearn for a similar standardization to apply today. In their view, the best translation is one that, in theory, could be used to reproduce the original Tibetan, should that ever be lost.<sup>699</sup>

On the other hand, the cultural context of what Diemberger has called the "rediffusion" (*yang dar*) of Tibetan Buddhism<sup>700</sup> is vastly different from Tibet's imperial era. We now live in societies that hold democratic, individualistic values. Moreover, we are the heirs to two thousand years of literate intellectual tradition. By contrast, Tibet in the eighth century was a rich culture, but one not yet philosophically or intellectually-developed.

Tibetan Buddhist culture as represented by the communities of the Tibetan diaspora can aptly be described as an exile "seeking the asylum afforded by a language of reception",

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<sup>697</sup> This section draws liberally on the ideas of Paul Ricoeur. See Ricoeur and Kearney, 2009, *passim*.

<sup>698</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>699</sup> Exactly such a loss occurred, of course, with most of the Sanskrit literature on which Tibetan Buddhism drew.

<sup>700</sup> See Diemberger, 2012.

to borrow Ricoeur's phrase. Many Westerners wish to support the refugee Tibetan community in trying to preserve as much as possible of their endangered Buddhist traditions. In some cases, however, this can lead to prescriptive attitudes towards translation, such as an invariable insistence on collaborating with Tibetan scholars, like the *paṇḍitas* in eighth-century Tibet.

A frequent concomitant of this “faithfulness” is a bias towards literalness that views the chief aim of translation as simply to preserve the author's “intention/thought” (*dgongs pa*). The source language is regarded as a “pure” or sacred one, embodying timeless wisdom in its very syllables. If taken to extremes, this set of attitudes to translation can produce a kind of Buddhist hybrid English. Lipman, in the introduction to his translation of the *rDo la gser zhun*, criticizes this as “Buddhist tribal jargon”, unintelligible to the ordinary educated reader.

For example, let us take the important rDzogs chen term *rig pa*. This is a verbal noun whose literal meaning is to know or understand. In rDzogs chen it has a rich semantic field encompassing pristine awareness, knowledge in the spiritual sense, or even gnosis. Those who attend Tibetan Dharma centres, listen to rDzogs chen lamas explain *rig pa*, and read rDzogs chen literature in English, (not to mention scholars of Tibetan Buddhism) quickly become familiar with the Tibetan term and use it comfortably enough. However, this tactic of leaving *rig pa* entirely untranslated is not one that I feel is suitable in a translation aimed at a more general readership. Accordingly, while admitting that it is not a perfect solution, in this work I generally translate *rig pa* as “awareness”. But I know of one translator who has proposed “to *rig*” as a new English verb, heedless of its already-established English meaning. Such “rigging” is, in my view, a ludicrous and unnecessary calque.

In addition to such mangling of vocabulary, literalism can also lead to flagrant disregard of the syntax and grammar of the target language. Such solecism is particularly prone to occur when the translator's priority is to reproduce the rhythm and even syllable-count of

the Tibetan, in order to create a text that can be recited to the same melody as the original. As an example of this, let us look an extract from a Tibetan lineage prayer. First, a translation that was made for a small Dharma centre:

All good oral line essence  
All one wish-fulfill jewel  
Root lama think of me  
Grant prime usual results

Victor all-one lord lama think of me  
Bless to churn up the depths of the wheel world.<sup>701</sup>

Here is my translation of the same passage:

Essence of the oral lineage of Samantabhadra,  
All-encompassing wish-fulfilling jewel,  
My principal teacher - please think of me!  
Please grant me the supreme and ordinary accomplishments!

Great and venerable teacher, the embodiment of all the Victorious ones,  
Bless me to stir Saṃsāra from its depths!

When literalism is taken to such extremes, English is really less of a target language and more of a baited hook to entice readers towards the ideal goal of learning Tibetan. This expectation is, however, hopelessly unrealistic in the vast majority of cases.

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<sup>701</sup> Extracted from a limited-distribution English translation (with accompanying Tibetan text) issued by Universal Wisdom Treasury, Brussels, (no date) of the preliminary prayers of the *Klong chen snying thig* practice of *gCod*, entitled *mKha' 'gro'i gad rgyangs*. pp. 5-6: *kun bzang bka' brgyud kyi ngo bo/ yongs 'dus yid bzhin gyi nor bu/ rtsa ba'i bla ma de mkhyen no/ mchog thun dngos grub kun stsol cig/ rgyal ba kun 'dus rje btsun bla ma mkhyen no/ 'khor ba dong nas dkrug par byin gyis rlobs shig*.

Literalist “riggers” are frequently motivated above all by uncompromising proselytism. They generally present texts without any critical analysis of their ideas. In these circumstances, the risk is that the conceptual systems of the source and target language communities will remain totally separate. In other words, there will be no dialogue, and no real translation.

If, to use Ricoeur’s metaphor, the task of the translator is to provide “interlinguistic hospitality”, to act as a generous host to a foreign guest, then extreme literalism is equivalent to kidnapping the host. It inflicts violence on both the target language and the reader.

The ideal of the perfect literal translation enshrines attitudes of respect for the actual words and language of the original. These are, paradoxically, at odds with the Buddhist teaching of the ultimate “emptiness” of all phenomena, including words. As the sDe dge version of the *Nam mkha’i rgyal po* says, referring to the real nature of things (*dharmatā*):

It has no objects - dealing with objects, even as illusory, one is deceived. There is no “wordness” or pursuing [the meaning of] words, either. [...] Concentrating the mind [even] for a little while [on] these things is a great pitfall.<sup>702</sup>

Mahāyāna Buddhism has always encouraged translation into new languages. When the Dharmakāya Buddha teaches, everyone is said to hear his words in their mother tongue.

Let us turn now to the other pole in the spectrum, that of contextual, relativist reading, or what Davidson dubs “betrayal”. Here, the translator views their work as primarily bringing the author to the reader. Wilson,<sup>703</sup> discussing this approach, offers two examples. The first are the (rDzogs chen) translations of Herbert Guenther, and the

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<sup>702</sup> sDe dge *Nam mkha’i rgyal po* edition, n. 846.

<sup>703</sup> See Wilson, 2001.

second, Lipman's collaborative translation of the *rDo la gser zhun*, under the title "Primordial Experience". Wilson would translate the title as "Cultivating the awakened mind"<sup>704</sup>.

Lipman is averse to what he calls "Buddhist tribal jargon", and urges the use of common English. But this ignores the fact that Buddhists, (including to some extent, by now, English-speaking ones), have carefully developed a precise technical vocabulary to avoid the pitfalls of misconception to which ordinary language gives rise.

Abstract philosophy, such as the Madhyamaka, is difficult in any language. Moreover, rDzogs chen evolved as an esoteric system that relied on extensive oral exegesis of its texts. *Sems sde* works were never comprehensible, or intended to be, to ordinary Tibetan readers unversed in their terms of discourse.

For our example term *rig pa* Lipman gives: "the flash of knowing that gives awareness its (illuminating) quality". This is surely a gloss rather than a translation. I concur with Wilson's view that excessive reliance on the terms and concerns of the target language culture (in Guenther and Lipman's case, systems of Western analytical philosophy) can be fruitful in generating new ideas within that system. But the outcome is not truly dialogue, or translation. To employ Ricoeur's hospitality metaphor again, one could characterise this as tantamount to interning the guest.

Even if we seek to avoid the extremes of both the reductive and constructive extremes outlined above, we are faced with the problem of our own subjectivity. When I translate from an eighth-to-tenth century Tibetan Buddhist worldview to my own contemporary culture, it is bound to be something of a reductionist endeavour. I also inevitably bring a fresh, constructive critique from my own perspective as a British Buddhist academic.

In summary, the field of interlinguistic hospitality is a challenging one. It requires openness and receptivity on the one hand, and firm grounding on the other. I think that it is

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<sup>704</sup> A more literal translation is "Meditation on *bodhicitta*".

generally very helpful (if unfortunately not always practically possible) to work in collaboration with Tibetan scholars. Nevertheless, it is important to distinguish between receiving traditional oral transmission and instruction on a text from a lama, and collaborating on translation with a scholar (who may be also a lama) who is not in the position of teacher. Otherwise the unequal distribution of power and authority might compromise the quality of the outcome of the project.

Finally, even as we hope that our work may be a source of happiness to readers, we need to recognise our own limitations and those of language in general. As Ricoeur says, only by giving up the ideal of the perfect translation does it become possible "to live, as agreed deficiency, the impossibility... of serving two masters, the author and the reader".<sup>705</sup>

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<sup>705</sup> See Ricoeur (author) and Kearney,(ed.) 2009, p. 8.



## ***Victory Banner of the Summit***<sup>706</sup>

(*rTse mo byung rgyal*)<sup>707</sup>

Homage to the blessed Samantabhadra, glorious great bliss!<sup>708</sup>

Homage to the omniscient and blissful glorious mind, the Blessed One; to the speech of space and wisdom beyond union and separation, the diversity<sup>709</sup> that is Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva<sup>710</sup>; and to the completely pure *bodhicitta*.<sup>711</sup>

This discourse<sup>712</sup> of the essential<sup>713</sup> meaning was uttered for the benefit of beings who, since distant aeons of the past, have [wandered] foolish and blind in the cycle of illusion, trapped by designations of "I" and "mine", spinning in the continuum of the three realms.

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<sup>706</sup> Current alternative translations of the title include: "Supreme Peak"; "Victorious emergence of the peak". The *Rang byung Ye shes* Dictionary defines *byung rgyal* as: "spontaneous, spontaneity, unstructured, not arranged; simply dealing with events as they arise; careless, haphazard." See following note.

<sup>707</sup> The *Vairo rgyud 'bum* gives an Indic version of the title: *sha kha ra' dza bha*. The Sanskrit word for peak is *śikhara*. If we assume the vowel was changed to an *a* by some Tibetan copyist, then this could be combined with Skt. *dhvaja*, a banner, flag (sometimes as an attribute of a deity, sometimes also meaning sex organ). The consonant cluster *dhv* presents difficulties to Tibetan speakers, so *dhvaja* might thus have become *dzabha*. Even though *dhvaja* would normally give *rgyal mtshan* in Tibetan, not *byung rgyal*, the Sanskrit version of the title, in conjunction with the passage that deals specifically with the meaning of the title (fol. 308 r.5; see translation on page 174) support translating *byung rgyal* along the lines of "banner" or "victory banner" rather than "spontaneous".

<sup>708</sup> VGB omits Samantabhadra.

<sup>709</sup> "Diversity" (*sna tshogs*) is a technical term in rDzogs chen that refers to the great variety of phenomena that make up physical existence. The first line of the *Rig pa'i khu byug* states that diversity is non-dual with the true nature of reality. Therefore its ultimately perfect nature is symbolised by *Kun tu bzang po* /Samantabhadra, whose name means "All /everywhere good".

<sup>710</sup> This is a conflation of Samantabhadra and Vajrasattva.

<sup>711</sup> VGB reads, after first *phyag 'tshal lo*: "Homage to [he who] owns, beyond union or separation, the body of omniscient great bliss, the speech of Vajrasattva through unalterable union, and the mind of Samantabhadra [that is] totally pure diversity." As this supplies the missing "body" element of the classic Trikāya triad of body, speech and mind, it is doctrinally more complete than the mTshams brag, gTing skyes, sDe dge and KSG versions. Its ordering of the Trikāya, as body (*sku*), speech (*gsungs*) and mind (*thugs*) is also more usual than that of the other witnesses' (mind, speech, [body]). However, as the VGB reading is unique here, I have not followed it in my translation. In later rDzogs chen discourse, the Trikāya are embodied in the figures of *Nirmāṇakāya* dGa' rab rDo rje, *Saṃbhogakāya* Vajrasattva, and *Dharmakāya* Samantabhadra. For another instance of a Trikāya scheme in this text, see p. 173.

<sup>712</sup> Adopting the VGB /D /KSG reading *gdams pa'i* rather than mTsham brag's *'dams pa'i*

<sup>713</sup> D and KSG have *snyigs ma'i don*, "residual meaning", a less plausible reading here than *snying po'i don*.

[It was uttered] to fortunate sons of the buddhas with power over whatever they wish<sup>714</sup>, in order that the unimaginably wondrous maṇḍala<sup>715</sup> of compassionate energy, one's own reflexive awareness, may be perceived in the mind<sup>716</sup>, for the benefit of yoga practitioners of later generations.

Fortunate, suitable recipients who are empowered with spontaneously-present, perfect *bodhicitta* in<sup>717</sup> the Atiyoga<sup>718</sup>, faithful ones whose minds are like [those of] the victors' family<sup>719</sup> [should] carry this, the oral transmission of the enlightened mind, the precepts of the guru<sup>720</sup>.

<sup>721</sup>After opening the door to the precious maṇḍala of the body, speech, qualities, many activities, and mind<sup>722</sup>, the lord of the secret mantra, proclaimed in the realisation songs of the glorious Sugatas, is the sovereign<sup>723</sup> of yoga.<sup>724</sup>

[Fundamental] union is the expanse of Samantabhadra himself.<sup>725</sup> The great, completely pure path [is] the mind whose goal is total liberation. The Great Perfection path of total

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<sup>714</sup> VGB's reading is *gang 'dod rgyal sras*, where the others have *rgyal sras gang 'dod dbang phyug*. An alternative translation: "whatever fortunate, powerful lords wish to become sons of the Buddha" i.e. bodhisattvas.

<sup>715</sup> Adopting *thugs rje'i dkyil 'khor*, the reading of VGB /D /KSG, rather than the mTshams brag /Tk reading *thugs rjes 'khor lo*, "the circle /cycle of compassion".

<sup>716</sup> Retaining the phrase *rang rig blo la snang ba shar ba'i phyir*, even though it is absent from KSG and D, whose editors may perhaps have considered it to have begun as an interlinear note that found its way into the text.

<sup>717</sup> My translation follows the VGB reading. The variant readings in this sentence may indicate different doctrinal emphases – for example, KSG (*lhun grub byang chub*) *rdzogs dbang dam tshig can* introduces *samaya* into the passage.

<sup>718</sup> VGB /D /KSG all read: *shin tu rnal 'byor*, where the others omit *shin tu*, leaving only 7 syllables in the line. Presumably this began as a copyist's error and persisted in the other witnesses.

<sup>719</sup> Here I have adopted the VGB /D /KSG reading '*dra rnams* rather than the other witnesses' '*dra na*. As all apart from KSG (which amends to *pa*) have '*di* in the previous line to agree with *man ngag*, it seems *man ngag* should be treated here as singular, in which case *rnams* must describe the *dad can rgyal rigs*, i.e. the recipients of the transmission.

<sup>720</sup> "Precepts" is a compromise between VGB's *dam ngag* and the others' *man ngag*. As the *Man ngag sde* gained prominence later, this might hint at an earlier redaction for the VGB version.

<sup>721</sup> The KSG commentary states that the main body of the text begins here.

<sup>722</sup> Following VGB's reading: *sku gsung yon tan 'phrin las mang po dang*. The others have repetition of "mind" (*thugs*) in both lines, which seems superfluous.

<sup>723</sup> The KSG commentary (p186.6) explains *rgyal po* as describing this text: "*di lung gi rgyal por gyur pas tshad ma'o*".

<sup>724</sup> VGB has *mnyam sbyor* instead of *rnal 'byor* here - "supreme union" or "sovereign of union".

liberation, in which there is no path to follow, [is] the expanse of reality<sup>726</sup>, uncreated, spontaneously perfect, with no [need] to do anything.

Because it is equal in all respects<sup>727</sup> to the liberating means of the numerous Vehicles, it is the completely perfect ornament of Dharma that is not mixed-up, like a wide estuary whose river ebbs and flows from and into the sea. [This is] the treasure-house of those crowned with direct empowerment.

Because it is the basis of all that is known and that knows, the perfect maṇḍala of the transformed<sup>728</sup> universal base is the unfolded cobra-hood<sup>729</sup> of consciousness equal in breadth to the sky<sup>730</sup>. The Victory Banner of the Summit<sup>731</sup>, the expanse of great bliss, [is] the unexcelled level that is not measurable [by] class [or] tantra.<sup>732</sup>

Samantabhadra, the naturally-arising Blessed one, is the single, supreme great<sup>733</sup> Dharmakāya.<sup>734</sup> The great mudrā of the spontaneously-perfect body, speech and mind, because it makes no division between self and others<sup>735</sup>, resides on the supreme, unexcelled level.

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<sup>725</sup> VGB reads: *mnyam la 'dus pas kun tu bzang po'i dbyings*. "Unified sameness is the sphere of Samantabhadra".

<sup>726</sup> VGB has *bde ba'i sa*, "the state /level of bliss" in place of *chos kyi dbyings* here.

<sup>727</sup> All the witnesses have different variant readings here. My suggestion *mnyam pas* is closest to that of the KSG.

<sup>728</sup> VGB has *ma bcos*, "unaltered", in contrast to the other texts' *gnas gyur*, "transformed". The VGB seems to prefer a view of the Alaya /*kun gzhi* that is more consonant with rDzogs chen than with the general Mahayana interpretation of it.

<sup>729</sup> A rearing cobra is often depicted sheltering the seated figure of the Buddha with its unfurled hood at the time of his enlightenment.

<sup>730</sup> VGB reads: *rnam shes rgyal bas nam mkha'i ngo bo ste*: "by becoming victorious consciousness is sky-like in nature."

<sup>731</sup> This line incorporates the title of the text.

<sup>732</sup> Following the VGB reading *yangs dog* "breadth, width, extent" here in preference to the .mTsham brag and *Tk ya thog*, which means "the first kalpa", or "primeval times", "antiquity". The Dg reading *yang thog*, "top floor", "upper storey" would translate as "the top storey [of the various] sections and tantras, the unsurpassed level".

<sup>733</sup> "Supremely great" (*che mchog*) is also the name of Chemchok heruka, heruka of the ratna family

<sup>734</sup> VGB reads: (*gcig pu rab tu che*) *bas bde ba'i sku* - "through being unique and magnificent [is] the body of bliss."

<sup>735</sup> KSG and Dg both omit the phrase "because it makes no distinction between self and others".

Because the Dharmadhātu has no uncreated sentient beings, [all] the phenomena of existence<sup>736</sup> are primordially spontaneously-present. Their cause<sup>737</sup>, the sphere of spontaneously-perfect *bodhicitta*, dwells<sup>738</sup> as the result, non-abiding Nirvāṇa.

Like the full moon that does not possess any [conceptual] elaboration, the natural state<sup>739</sup> is primordially equal to the expanse surrounding the ocean - just as it expands, it also encompasses [everything, and] merit and wisdom are perfected in its [enlightened] body, speech and mind.<sup>740</sup>

[This] view<sup>741</sup> of the king of the sky<sup>742</sup> [that] soars [in] total equanimity [is] the spontaneously perfect Dharmadhātu.<sup>743</sup> It displays great wonders, the manifestations of compassionate energy, in the nature of the uncreated, non-abiding sky.

A great garuda<sup>744</sup> that soars in the sky on perfect wings does not experience the contours of river [valleys] [or] high-peaked mountains<sup>745</sup>, [and] cuts through any level it fancies, easily traversing [through] all the realms of the spacious sky.

In the same way the [enlightened] mind of the yogin, mentally purified from the beginning, is capable of going to the heart of *bodhicitta*. The person endowed with the

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<sup>736</sup> Following the VGB /D /KSG reading *srid pa'i*, rather than *sred pa'i* found in the other two versions.

<sup>737</sup> The VGB reads *thams cad* – "all [phenomena], the sphere of spontaneously-perfect bodhicitta, arise as the result, non-abiding Nirvana."

<sup>738</sup> The VGB reading here (*shar*) translates as "arise" rather than "dwells" (*gnas*).

<sup>739</sup> All witnesses except the KSG have *de bzhin pa* here, but this term is otherwise not attested and is presumably corrupt. I have therefore followed the KSG reading *ji bzhin pa*.

<sup>740</sup> VGB version would give: "the yogin perfects the two accumulations in body, speech and mind" (*rnal 'byor tshog gnyis...*)

<sup>741</sup> "View" (*lta ba*) here does not have the connotations of Sanskrit *dr̥ṣṭi*, which generally implies an incorrect philosophical view. In contrast, it refers in rDzogs chen to seeing the actual state of things as they really are. For a detailed explanation, see Sogyal R., 1992, p. 152-159.

<sup>742</sup> The *King of the Sky* is also the title of another of the Thirteen Later Translations.

<sup>743</sup> Tb and Tk end this line ...*sku gsung chos kyi dbyings*. This repeats *sku gsung* from the previous line, but omits the usual third of the "three gates", namely *thugs*. It makes little sense here and is, I believe, probably a visual error caused by eye-skip. VGB reads *lhun rdzogs mnyam pa'i dbyings*, "The spontaneously perfect realm of equality." The VGB consistently avoids the term *chos [kyi] dbyings* throughout this text.

<sup>744</sup> Great Garuda (*Khyung chen*) is the title of one of the Five Earlier Translations.

<sup>745</sup> This line contains numerous variant readings, and I have had to amend it in order to construe the most likely meaning. Refer to edition for the details.

instructions that directly actualize Buddhahood is especially exalted in the qualities [of] the realization of *bodhicitta*.<sup>746</sup>

Spontaneously accomplishing their own and others' benefit without renouncing anything, they perform a vast number of [enlightened] acts of various kinds, as they please. Although a swamp causes a lotus to grow, the lotus is not tainted by the swamp.

When one realizes the true nature of things without desire, desireless wisdom is not tainted in even the slightest way.<sup>747</sup> This is how the yogin carries out the conduct of skilful means<sup>748</sup>, in every kind of limitless compassionate action.

Free from the complexity of conceptual thought and without any fixation on subject-object, the sovereign who is equal to the sky fulfils every aspiration. From the uncreated expanse, from the expanse of the pristine *bodhicitta*, the marvellous display of creation radiates.

This maṇḍala of the vast and pristine expanse of space [is] the spontaneously-present wish-fulfilling jewelled celestial palace. The assembly<sup>749</sup> gathers the victorious ones of all directions and times.

Displaying the form of the victorious [buddhas] from out of victorious [buddhahood] itself,<sup>750</sup> the victorious<sup>751</sup> host of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, in order to display the victors' maṇḍala for the benefit of beings, emanates the Vajradhātu maṇḍala<sup>752</sup> that tames beings.

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<sup>746</sup> The *bKa' ma* comment here (p. 193.6 "the qualities of the realization of the meaning of the Victorious Garuda of the Peak are..." *rtse mo khyung rgyal gyi don rtogs pa'i yon tan ni*) seems to contain an interesting variant of the text's usual title. This is perhaps a deliberate play on the garuda metaphor that occurs in the previous passage. It could even conceivably be the original title of the text, as *khyung* and *byung* are pronounced similarly in some eastern Tibetan dialects. The garuda in India was regarded as the king (Tib. *rgyal po*) of birds. Alternatively, but less plausibly, *khyung* here could be an error.

<sup>747</sup> The VGB version, which is defective in being only seven syllables long, reads: "the wheel that illuminates the true nature of things, desireless wisdom is not in the least defiled."

<sup>748</sup> "The conduct of (skilful) means", *thabs kyi spyod pa* is one of *spyod pa gsum* in Anuyoga (consecration, overpowering, and the conduct of skilful means.)

<sup>749</sup> Following the VGB reading, *rgyal ba'i tshogs* rather than the other texts' *rgyal ba'i mchog*

<sup>750</sup> VGB "apart from Buddhahood itself, there is no other body".

<sup>751</sup> VGB reads: *lha tshogs* "host of deities"

Just as the mass of stars extends through a cloudless sky, [so], endowed with the retinue of perfect complete enjoyment<sup>753</sup>, vivid and clear, in union with Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva, wisdom shines forth from the expanse as the mudrā of method.<sup>754</sup>

The aggregates, elements, and sense faculties, vividly clear, equal and distinct, [are] the assembly of yogis. Samantabhadra, the naturally-present blessed one, the sole, supremely excellent Dharmakāya, [is] the great mudrā of spontaneously perfect body, speech and mind.

The primordial, spontaneously-accomplished *bodhicitta*-essence resides on the supreme, unexcelled level of the Victors. He who is endowed with the maṇḍala that shines out in brilliant clarity [is] like the vajra sun that illuminates the world without any thought of self and others.

The three faces and six arms of perfect liberation are the three *kāyas*, six wisdoms and the Dharmadhātu.<sup>755</sup> Just as the host of stars does not radiate [when] the maṇḍala of the sun suppresses it with its incandescence, so does Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva blaze with the great splendour of a thousand suns, [he who is] the chief of the great gathered assembly<sup>756</sup> of victorious ones, lord of all outer, inner and secret maṇḍalas, the principal consciousness, the Basis-of-all.

Although he has never stirred from the expanse of naturally-occurring primordial wisdom, the one endowed with compassionate energy that completely pervades a thousand realms, the glorious protector of beings, [is] the diversity [that is]

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<sup>752</sup> The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is a feature of the Kriyatantra system.

<sup>753</sup> “Perfect enjoyment” here denotes the *Sambhogakāya*.

<sup>754</sup> That is, the female consort. The phrase *thabs kyi phyag rgya* occurs also in dPal byangs’ *Thugs kyi sgron ma*.

<sup>755</sup> VGB has *dbud rtsi dbyings* here; “the realm of nectar”

<sup>756</sup> “Great Gathered Assembly” is the title of the main maṇḍala of the *dGongs pa ’dus pa’i mdo*, the main tantra of the vehicle now classed as Anuyoga.

Samantabhadra<sup>757</sup>. Distinctions, [such as] acceptance and rejection, are one in the meaning of non-duality.

The Dharmadhātu illuminates [both] inner and outer [realms]. "Since this pristine field of activity, [that is] all things, Buddhas and sentient beings, acceptance and rejection, is non-dual, where is there anything, from the beginning, to correct with a Path?"<sup>758</sup>

The dynamic potency<sup>759</sup> without accomplishment is spontaneously perfected Buddhahood, without aspiration or effort. In the non-dual<sup>760</sup>, pristine Dharmadhātu, how could there be any conceptual analysis influenced by deluded, wrong ideas?<sup>761</sup>

The wisdom Dharmakāya [is both] thought and non-thought, unbounded and undiminished.<sup>762</sup> From the uncreated expanse the marvels of creation,<sup>763</sup> [the whole of] diversity that is not any thing [really-existing] is the Dharmadhātu. When the pure three realms do not arise and are not produced<sup>764</sup> one does not fixate on<sup>765</sup> the centre or limits, [but] transcends conceptual thought.

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<sup>757</sup> VGB: "compassionate energy arises completely uniform throughout appearance and existence."

<sup>758</sup> VGB and D omit "from the beginning", reading "where is there anything to correct with a Path or antidote?" In the commentary this sentence is concluded with a more honorific end-quote phrase (*zhes gsungs*) that differs from the usual one (*zhes pa*), perhaps indicating that here the root text is itself quoting from a scriptural source.

<sup>759</sup> "Dynamic potency" (*rtsal sprugs*) is similar to the title of one of the Five Earlier Translations, the *Great Dynamic Potency* (*rtsal chen sprugs pa*).

<sup>760</sup> Tb /Tk read *chis med* and *mchis med* respectively - perhaps misspellings of '*chi med*', "deathless".

However this would introduce a concept that seems out of place here. Moreover, the term "non-dual" (*gnyis med*) occurs in numerous other places in the text.

<sup>761</sup> The KSG and VGB here read *log spyod*, "misconduct", often referring to sexual misconduct. However, I have followed the other witnesses'; reading *log rlog*, "misconception" or "misunderstanding" as it seems more relevant to the rest of the passage. Furthermore, even though the KSG does not adopt this term in its root text quotation, it does include it in its explanatory comments. This is not the only example of this phenomenon, and may be a sign of the reluctance of the redactor of the KSG commentary to completely omit an alternative reading that he considered valid, implying that he had at his disposal several versions of the root text.

<sup>762</sup> Tb /Tk KSG /D all have *dbyings la* "in the (*dharm*)*adhātu*" here. However this appears superfluous, and as the syllable count of this line is two syllables too long, I have omitted it from my translation. The VGB version gives: "From the actual state without limit or centre".

<sup>763</sup> VGB: the marvels of generation, the hosts of many displays".

<sup>764</sup> There are divergent readings between the witnesses here. They hinge on whether the (three) realms are "pure" (*rnam dag*) or "impure", (*ma dag*). I have chosen "pure" as it seems more in accord with the following section.

<sup>765</sup> Following the VGB /KSG reading. The others have: "not seeing " (*ma gzigs*).

Non-conceptuality as the antidote to conceptual thought, since it desires non-thought, is [itself] a big thought.<sup>766</sup> The actuality of the Dharmadhātu transcends thought [and] non-thought.<sup>767</sup> Both thought and non-thought are limited verbal concepts.

Conceptual thought, non-elaborated,<sup>768</sup> is the essence of *bodhicitta*. The Basis-of-all<sup>769</sup> is pure, [and] the consciousnesses<sup>770</sup> are pure.<sup>771</sup> Primordial wisdom is pure, [and] the Dharmadhātu is pure.<sup>772</sup> The samaya is pure, [and] the deities are pure<sup>773</sup>. The [great] self<sup>774</sup> is pure<sup>775</sup>, [and] others are also pure.<sup>776</sup>

The View is pure, and the conduct<sup>777</sup> is pure. Sentient beings are pure<sup>778</sup>, and the buddhas are pure. The causes are pure<sup>779</sup> [and] the result is pure. Dependent arising is pure<sup>780</sup> [and] interconnection is pure.

Apart from the non-self, non-dual essence of *bodhicitta*, the union of space and wisdom, there is no other reality or phenomena to be found.<sup>781</sup>

Having the knowledge of skilful means and wisdom [that] realize the meaning of cause and effect<sup>782</sup> is equal to *bodhicitta* that dispels the darkness [of ignorance].<sup>783</sup> The

<sup>766</sup> VGB "meditation biased towards non-thought as the antidote to conceptual thought..."

<sup>767</sup> VGB "the sphere of equality transcends non-thought".

<sup>768</sup> VGB "free from elaboration" (*spros bral*), while the KSG translates as "the elaboration of conceptual thought is the essence of *bodhicitta*".

<sup>769</sup> *Kun gzhi /ālaya*. See following note.

<sup>770</sup> Each of the sense faculties is regarded as having its own consciousness in this system. In addition there are three other, mental consciousnesses, making a total of eight consciousnesses in all. The *kun gzhi* is the eighth, the mental basis of all. However, rDzogs chen explains it differently from Yogācāra, which regards it as a kind of storehouse of impure karmic imprints.

<sup>771</sup> VGB "[Since] the Basic consciousness is pure from the beginning"

<sup>772</sup> VGB "Pristine primordial wisdom shines forth as Great Bliss."

<sup>773</sup> D omits this line.

<sup>774</sup> I take *bdag nyid* here to be equivalent to *bdag nyid chen po*.

<sup>775</sup> VGB: "Through the purity of non-self, the other is also pure"

<sup>776</sup> The KSG omits this line.

<sup>777</sup> On the "view" see previous note. View (*lta ba*), meditation (*sgom pa*), and conduct (or action) (*spyod pa*) are a traditional triple classification of rDzogs chen training.

<sup>778</sup> VGB: "Because sentient beings are pure, the Buddhas are pure."

<sup>779</sup> VGB: "Also, because the cause is pure, the result is pure."

<sup>780</sup> VGB: "Because dependent arising is pure, interconnection is pure"

<sup>781</sup> VGB: "Those who have not realised the union of space and wisdom in the essence of *bodhicitta* through the purity of non-self seek for the elements of things (*?chos kyi chos*), [but] the real nature of things is not in others."



maṇḍala that arises naturally from *bodhicitta*<sup>784</sup> is a diversity of unproduced, unceasing marvels.

Even though one's own and others' benefit are primordially and spontaneously accomplished, the ocean of harmonizing, appropriate<sup>785</sup> conduct acts to perfect the benefit of beings with great compassion.

The Basis-of-all transcends the extremes of existence and non-existence; endowed with the maṇḍala of speech [of] the numerous categories of words, it points out the gold of the meaning with the torch [of] names and words - it is the self[hood] that subsumes all conventions and verbal categorizations.

It is not existent; likewise it is not non-existent.<sup>786</sup> It is not permanent, nor does it [fall into] the extreme of nihilism.<sup>787</sup> It is not a "self" and has no fixation on characteristics.<sup>788</sup>

Those who conceive of real inner and outer subjects and objects<sup>789</sup> in direct perception of thusness that is beyond form,<sup>790</sup> are obscured through ignorance and adhere to non-Buddhist eternalism. Those who declare that the diversity [of phenomena] lacks inherent existence, through seeing [only] non-existence<sup>791</sup>, [fall into] the non-Buddhist path of nihilism.

Whoever clings mentally to either eternalism or nihilism is said to err<sup>792</sup> from the explanation of the essential [true] meaning.

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<sup>782</sup> VGB: "The manifestation of cause and effect are skilful means and wisdom."

<sup>783</sup> VGB "endowed with the mind of omniscient ignorance-dispelling *bodhicitta* ".

<sup>784</sup> VGB "The maṇḍala of the naturally-arising mind (of enlightenment)..."

<sup>785</sup> VGB: Following the VGB /D /KSG reading (*'tsham pa'i*) not the other witnesses' *'tshal ba'i*.

<sup>786</sup> VGB "It is primordially neither existent nor non-existent."

<sup>787</sup> VGB "nor is it either of the two extremes, eternalism or nihilism."

<sup>788</sup> VGB "It is not in the characteristics of self and others".

<sup>789</sup> VGB "who conceive of objects and subjects as real".

<sup>790</sup> The phrase "in direct perception of thusness that is beyond form" is omitted except in the VGB and mTshams brag.

<sup>791</sup> VGB "because they cling to an extreme [view]"

<sup>792</sup> Following the KSG /D /VGB reading (*gol bar /gol sar*) rather than the incongruous *goms par* of the other versions.

The essence of *bodhicitta* is the special knowledge<sup>793</sup> that diversity - which is not something concrete - *is* the Dharmadhātu.<sup>794</sup> That is the doctrine of spontaneous union with pure primordial wisdom, of the Yogins of the Great Perfection who realize the meaning of the non-dual.<sup>795</sup>

Since [they] have no hope and fear, from out of the expanse [of reality] the expanse itself shines forth. There is no<sup>796</sup> system where one seeks Buddhahood from elsewhere. The fundamental consciousness is primordially<sup>797</sup> the Dharmadhātu.

When one has direct perception of primordial, spontaneously present Buddhahood, to whom would one pray for Buddhahood, [and] from where? Buddhahood seeking for Buddhahood is like animals tormented by the cycle of delusion [following<sup>798</sup> ] a mirage. Pursuing<sup>799</sup> the mind of the victorious ones from the expanse of the essential drop<sup>800</sup> is like chasing a mirage from the expanse of the ocean.

Therefore, if one wishes to obtain Buddhahood, if one just realizes the supreme samādhi of *bodhicitta*, one directly perceives Buddhahood in oneself,<sup>801</sup> the non-dual<sup>802</sup> Dharmakāya of supreme sameness.

The so-called secret and great secret maṇḍalas<sup>803</sup> are included in [that] very realization [of] the maṇḍala of the Buddhas.<sup>804</sup> Endowed with a retinue, having perfected the

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<sup>793</sup> VGB "the person of the family of the Sugatas."

<sup>794</sup> The VGB omits "Dharma" (*chos*) leaving simply the rather unusual phrase *sna tshog kyi dbyings* "the sphere of diversity". This also leaves the line one syllable short. This may be an error, but if deliberate, it follows a pattern in the VGB version of the text of avoiding the term Dharmadhātu (*chos kyi dbyings*) in favor of other expressions.

<sup>795</sup> KSG alone has 'od *gsal don rtogs*, "realize the meaning of the clear light."

<sup>796</sup> VGB "[It /this] is not a..."

<sup>797</sup> VGB "The fundamental consciousness, unaltered and equal [is] the Dharmadhātu"

<sup>798</sup> VGB omits *snyeg pa* – perhaps diminishing the meaning but restoring (?) a correct 9 syllable length to this line.

<sup>799</sup> Amending the VGB /Tb reading *rnyed* "finding" to *rnyeg*, "pursuing". See the edition for details.

<sup>800</sup> TK omits this sentence.

<sup>801</sup> VGB: "If one examines the manifestation (*gsal*) of *bodhicitta*, the supreme samādhi..."

<sup>802</sup> KSG "the Dharmakāya ultimate sameness, the supreme sameness". All other witnesses have "non-dual Dharmakāya".

accumulation of merit and wisdom,<sup>805</sup> they are endowed with the actual presence of the signs and marks [of perfection].<sup>806</sup>

The primordially pure *bodhicitta*-essence [which is] in the Great Perfection samaya [that is] empowered through great compassion and the consort<sup>807</sup> [that is] the Dharmatā<sup>808</sup>, is equal to, non-dual with, and the same as the maṇḍala of [all] the Buddhas.

Once one has received the delightful accomplishment<sup>809</sup>, attainment is certain. Like the world-illuminating maṇḍala of the sun, one's fame will arise throughout a thousand realms.

Like the example of an *uḍumbara* [flower] in the ocean, if one is endowed with *bodhicitta* [just] once in a hundred times, in undisturbed meditative absorption, one will attain accomplishment.

Should the mind generate attachment or aversion<sup>810</sup>, acceptance or rejection, or the deluded mind grow angry due to a momentary circumstance<sup>811</sup>, because this errs from the meaning of unsurpassed *bodhicitta*, erroneous concepts enter the mind [state] that is momentarily formed, and [the state of *bodhicitta* ] is lost through the power of delusion. By being certain [of one's] aim<sup>812</sup>, one does not practise [this].

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<sup>803</sup> VGB: "The secret and more secret great maṇḍalas..." The KSG explains this as referring to the Sambhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya maṇḍalas.

<sup>804</sup> VGB: "are the maṇḍala of the Buddhas gathered at the heart that shines out."

<sup>805</sup> I follow the KSG /D reading here.

<sup>806</sup> VGB "Because they are endowed with the actual presence of the signs and marks..."

<sup>807</sup> This translation is based on my tentative emendation of *chos nyid yul* to *chos nyid yum*.

<sup>808</sup> "Compassion" (*snying rje*) is traditionally associated in the tantric system with both "method" (*thabs*) and the male consort (*yab*), while wisdom (*shes rab*) the realisation of the nature of absolute truth (*chos nyid*) is symbolised by the female consort (*yum*).

<sup>809</sup> Receiving the "accomplishment" (*dnegos grub*) here is an oblique reference to the consumption of sexual fluids in the context of the rite of Union.

<sup>810</sup> VGB "grasping attachment" (*'dzin chags* - note there is no mention of aversion here).

<sup>811</sup> VGB "or the deluded mind err for a moment due to conceptual thought..."

<sup>812</sup> The word '*ban*' seems to be otherwise unattested. As D appears to read '*ben*', "aim" or "goal", (which is pronounced identically to '*ban*') I have amended the text accordingly. A similar phrase "*thag gcig thog tu gcad*" is found as the 2nd of dGa rab rDo rje's famous "Three Phrases that hit the essence" (*tshig gsum gnas brdeg*s), an important early rDzogs chen text.

Once the wise person gives rise to fierce regret and then [meditates] without interruption, placing his own mind as a witness, without any need to seek it from elsewhere or accomplish anything<sup>813</sup>, the excellent *bodhicitta* will arise in his mind.

The sovereign of awareness will dispel even thick obscuration accumulated over aeons into [the state of] reality in just a mere instant through the sunbeams of primordial wisdom, without reliance on disagreeable renunciation by antidotes.<sup>814</sup>

Ignorant and foolish beings who lack merit, [and] all whose mind-streams fixate on [the concept of] self and others, are deluded [about] the single essential nature of the victors' Dharmakāya, mistakenly analysing and viewing it as individuals.<sup>815</sup>

<sup>816</sup> Although the illusory apparition of wisdom [that is] the ocean of the Victors, and misconception's illusory apparition, the sentient beings of the five realms are, on the relative level, limitless in their specificity<sup>817</sup>, in the expanse of ultimate reality they are all totally equal in their essential nature. Because all phenomena are empty from the beginning, non-abiding Nirvāṇa is in just this same condition

If all sentient beings, in the heart of enlightenment,<sup>818</sup> actualize reflexive awareness, the true nature of their minds [that is] buddhahood,<sup>819</sup> [then] there is not the slightest trace of enlightenment that is accomplished from any other [quarter].<sup>820</sup>

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<sup>813</sup> The phrase "without any need to seek it or do other practice" is omitted in D /KSG. As VGB /Tb /Tk (and Rig 'dzin) all include it, it is unlikely to have been omitted by accident, and may point to a difference in doctrinal emphasis taken by the D /KSG redactors or their sources. The omission leaves this *śloka* one line short.

<sup>814</sup> Tk /D /KSG omit "without reliance on disagreeable renunciation by antidotes ". Compare with the previous note. Again, this omission leaves the *śloka* one line short. However, KSG does use the word *gnyen po* in its commentary on the passage – this is another instance where it appears the KSG redactor may have been reluctant to completely omit a variant reading.

<sup>815</sup> Following the reading of the VGB /D /KSG *mithong bas nor*, rather than that of Tb /Tk '*khung ba nor*. '*Khung ba* is not attested elsewhere.

<sup>816</sup> From this point, there is a close correspondence with a shorter text entitled *Thabs (dang) shes (rab ldan pa'i) sgron ma* by dPal dbyangs, found in the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur, Tohoku no. 4450. At times the wording of the two texts is identical, but frequently the *Thabs shes sgron ma* reads like a paraphrase of the *rTse mo byung rgyal*.

<sup>817</sup> VGB: "specifics of cause and effect".

<sup>818</sup> VGB: "Everything is certainly in the [state of] the very heart of enlightenment."

The meditation and practice terms are indicated<sup>821</sup> just for the benefit of suitable beings. This being so, there is no-one [of them] who will not gain accomplishment.

When<sup>822</sup> one sees the expanse of reality<sup>823</sup> in this way, great compassion arises for those who do not see [it]. After [this] compassion has arisen, through illusory samādhi one displays various kinds of skilful conduct<sup>824</sup> to benefit beings.

Since there is no conception of self and others, primordial non-duality [is] synonymous with the Dharmakāya. Having realised the unborn Dharmakāya, for the sake of beings, one again and again displays the magical marvel of birth.

The twelve deeds [of the Buddhas] that fulfil the benefit of beings; the Nirmanakāya that transforms into every kind of physical being; [these] various magical marvels of compassion are everywhere manifest. (Sentient beings are prophesied to be Buddhas.<sup>825</sup>)<sup>826</sup> Although their manifestation of compassion tames all beings [that need] to be tamed, there is not so much as a trace of conceit [at having] an illusory cleverness.<sup>827</sup>

Like the enlightened mind of the Buddhas, Suchness that does not alter its own defining character, manifests the perception of phenomena as illusory. So the various marvels [of] illusory samādhi are completely indefinable and uncertain.

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<sup>819</sup> VGB: "Apart from the clarity of the essential drop that is like this," (*thams cad de lta'i thig ler gsal ba las*)

<sup>820</sup> VGB: "there is not the slightest trace of Buddhahood to be accomplished from any other [quarter]."

<sup>821</sup> KSG omits the phrase "conventional meditation and practices are prescribed." This is to the clear detriment of the following line.

<sup>822</sup> VGB "After one sees..."

<sup>823</sup> *Chos kyi dbyings / dharmadhātu.*

<sup>824</sup> VGB has *thabs kyi spyod pa*; the others *thabs kyi spyod pa*. The phrase as given by VGB also occurs earlier in the text (see note on Anuyoga)

<sup>825</sup> The phrase *lung du bstan* "[are] prophesied" (?) is omitted in KSG /D. It does seem to interrupt the flow of the exposition. It may be a copyist's error, since it also occurs slightly earlier in the text, or perhaps a note that became incorporated into the text over time.

<sup>826</sup> From (*gdul bya kun 'dul yang / sgyu ma'i blo ldan rlom sems rdul tsam med*) occurs also in the text entitled *Thabs (dang) shes (rab ldan pa'i) sgron ma* by dPal dbyangs, found in the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur, Tohoku no. 4450.

<sup>827</sup> My translation of the phrase *sgyu ma'i blo ldan rlom sems* is tentative.

This naturally-arising, wondrous, renowned essence of enlightenment <sup>828</sup>[was] taught in Nālandā:<sup>829</sup> all persons, animals, [and] inner and outer forms are perfect in the wheel that adorns the inexhaustible, supreme *kāya*.<sup>830</sup> [All] sounds, superior, ordinary and inferior, without exception, are profound in the wheel that adorns the inexhaustible melodious speech. Because everything, without exception, is of one flavour in the expanse [of reality], [it is all] gathered in the wheel that adorns the inexhaustible supreme mind.

Also, the manifest clarity in the essential drop [of] the practice of union dissolves into the supreme Dharmakāya, the essence of enlightenment.<sup>831</sup>

Some fiercely proud would-be scholars who do not possess the outer, inner, and secret meaning of this great level of the powerful lord of Secret Mantra aspire for<sup>832</sup> their own views to be supreme. Due to ignorance, they recklessly and violently let go of mindfulness, asserting that they are superior and without comparison.

They belittle others and meditate [visualizing] themselves as a deity. But because this is incompatible with the meaning of the sovereign of [fundamental] equality, their entire <sup>833</sup>View and Conduct become the work of Māra.

[When] the arrogant mind [that is concerned with] high and low is under control, it [is] compatible [with] [fundamental] equality. Wise persons who renounce the nature<sup>834</sup> of

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<sup>828</sup> VGB diverges here.

<sup>829</sup> "[*shi le*] *Na len 'dra*" is the name of Nālandā, a famous Buddhist monastery and centre of learning in India. It occurs also in a KSG commentary on the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, recounting how Vairocana went to *rgya gar yul du dpal shi len na len tra'i gtsug lag khang* in order to receive the rDzogs chen teachings. (KSG vol. 103, p. 726.1).

<sup>830</sup> VGB "[In] this naturally-arising wondrous, renowned essence of enlightenment, form, sound and thoughts, [whether] superior, ordinary, or inferior, [are] without exception the profound sphere of [enlightened] body, speech, and adornment [=mind]. Because everything without exception is of one taste in the sphere [of reality], it is [all] included in the imperishable sphere of great bliss." This passage seems to follow the VGB pattern of referring to "great bliss" where the others do not - here they replace it with "supreme mind" (*thugs mchog*).

<sup>831</sup> I here follow the VGB reading. The term I translate in this context as "essential drop" (*thig le*) is replaced in Tb /Tk by the less explicit "satisfaction" (*tshim 'gyur*), and in the KSG /D by "dissolution" (*thim 'gyur*), despite the repetition of *thim* that this engenders at the end of the next line.

<sup>832</sup> VGB gives "explain" (*bzhed*)

<sup>833</sup> The phrase *lta spyod ya cha* also occurs in the *Thugs kyi dgron ma* by dPal dbyangs.

<sup>834</sup> VGB: "the fault of pride"

pride that thinks "I exist" in accordance with their teacher's precepts, [and] excel in virtues, are of an exceptional status.

Even an unrivaled scholar who talks of Union, if he abandons *bodhicitta* through being lax in his samaya, whatever true words [such] a false guide may say [about] attaining vajra-like accomplishment in this [very] life<sup>835</sup>, his very mind will be in the power of delusion.

Those who wish to enter into the expansive gateway of the vast Secret Mantra will be cheated [of] the [enlightened] body of a conqueror and will return [to Saṃsāra]. After experiencing nectar, whoever confuses it with poison will not find any other nectar apart from that,<sup>836</sup> and the wrathful Vajra Yakṣa will dwell at [their] heart. Even after [their] illusory living body is completely destroyed, they are sure<sup>837</sup> to go to hell<sup>838</sup>, and are always pitiable, like meteoric iron from the heavens stuck in the mire, [or] an animal that strays beyond the border of the human realm.<sup>839</sup>

[This] is called a "statement"<sup>840</sup> because it puts together all the points of the Tantra.<sup>841</sup> Because everything is the bodhisattva, this is the summit; because it is transmitted from the minds of the wise it is the very banner of victory.<sup>842</sup>

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<sup>835</sup> VGB "In (or for) this [very]mind"

<sup>836</sup> VGB "and what turns that very nectar into poison..."

<sup>837</sup> VGB: "They will quickly go..."

<sup>838</sup> There are various "Hell" realms in Vajrayāna Buddhism. They are conceived of as temporary rather than permanent states.

<sup>839</sup> VGB: "Like an animal that goes beyond the boundary of its own realm..."

<sup>840</sup> *Lung* in Tibetan.

<sup>841</sup> From this point the text is discussing the words which now make up its own title, that is *rtse mo byung rgyal*, with perhaps the addition of *'phreng ba* ("garland" or rosary) and *dam pa'i lung* ("a sublime statement"). The KSG commentary adds "*de kho na nyid kyi rgyud*" to the rest of its title here. This could therefore be one of a group of six (*de kho na nyid kyi rgyud drug*) mentioned in the bSam gtan mig sgron. See Karmay 1988 p. 97

<sup>842</sup> Although this section clearly intends to explain the text's title word by word, its precise meaning remains slightly elusive. The relevant passage in the commentary (p. 226.3-4) reads: "The meaning of all phenomena being the same as the wisdom of one's own awareness is: because there is no second [party], it is exalted through there being no consort or companion...the transmission of the mind of Samantabhadra and dGa' rab rdo rje is the ultimate summit of [all] vehicles." ( *cad byang chub sems dpas rtse mo ste/ zhes pa/ chos so cog rang rig pa'i ye shes su gcig pa'i don ni/ gnyis pa mdo* [sic; read as *med*] *pas zla dang gnyen po med par spags* [sic; read as *'phags*] *pa'i phyir ro/ mkhas pa'i thugs las brgyud pas byung rgyal nyid/zhes pa/ kun tu bzang po dang dga' rab rdo rje'i thugs brgyud pa ni theg pa'i yang rtser gyur pa'o/*)

Although the banner itself rises on the summit,<sup>843</sup> garlanded with the various aspects arranged as adornments<sup>844</sup>, it is sublime because it is indivisible and nonexclusive, without acceptance or rejection.

A yogin endowed with the Four Immeasurable [qualities]<sup>845</sup> sets out to accomplish his own and others' benefit. When the time is ripe for union with, or liberation of, the objects of [his] compassion, [such a] person [is] endowed with the victors' kindness and adorned with every type of abundance, such as a warmth of mind<sup>846</sup>, receipt of the precepts, a retinue [of disciples] and [practice] materials.<sup>847</sup> Provided he has the power [of] one-pointed focus on his objective, he will attain [the level of] the vidyādhara who accomplishes the great, supreme yoga.

The foundations of karmic deeds that lack compassion are like merely paying lip-service to Samantabhadra. [This] will go against the essential meaning, and bring about no accomplishment.

Those [who perform] boundless<sup>848</sup> enlightened activities that accomplish yoga hold the accomplishment of union with Samantabhadri.<sup>849</sup> This unproduced [state] totally transcends [both] ultimate and relative [truths].

The meaning of [this] natural yoga is the crowning [glory]<sup>850</sup> of the Mahāyāna. Whoever possesses such knowledge of the spontaneously-present Great Perfection, the highest of

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<sup>843</sup> The KSG commentary omits this line. (*byung rgyal nyid na rtse mor shar ba yang*).

<sup>844</sup> Where the other witnesses have *rgyan* (adornment) the KSG has *brgyad* (eight): "arranged in eight aspects...". It explains the eight as referring to the other vehicles (*theg pa*).

<sup>845</sup> The Four Immeasurable Qualities are: love, compassion, joy, and equanimity. Tb and Tk here have instead *dam tshig bzhi*, "the four samayas".

<sup>846</sup> This "warmth" denotes a physical sign of realization.

<sup>847</sup> VGB reads: "holding the accumulation of the three times, and endowed with the maṇḍala of the victors"

<sup>848</sup> Literally, "the oceans".

<sup>849</sup> VGB, D and KSG read *kun tu bzang mor sbyor ldan* here, where the others have *kun tu bzang por sbyar ldan*. The KSG commentary glosses this as "the possession of non-conceptual wisdom" (*mi dmigs pa'i shes rab dang ldan pas*).

<sup>850</sup> *Spyi lugs* alludes to consecration through anointing with oil, either in a royal coronation or in a tantric empowerment ceremony.



all [spiritual] levels, wholly rejects the Four Demons<sup>851</sup>, [and] arouses a vast compassion towards all<sup>852</sup> [beings], shunning all negative action. His superior merit is immense.<sup>853</sup> He fulfils the fruition<sup>854</sup> that realizes the View.

The statements and precepts should explain the definitive meaning.

[This] concludes the meditation [instruction] called<sup>855</sup> "The Victory Banner of the Summit [of] *Bodhicitta*".<sup>856</sup>

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<sup>851</sup> These "demons" are hindrances to enlightenment, embodiments of the negative force of ignorance.

<sup>852</sup> Here the KSG commentary omits "*kun la yangs pa'i*" (or as VGB has it, *kun la yangs pas*).

<sup>853</sup> Literally, "ten thousand thousands". KSG and D combine this and the previous line into one: "Having aroused greater avoidance [of] negative action his merit [will be] immense".

<sup>854</sup> "Fruition" here means the ultimate result of practice.

<sup>855</sup> VGB omits "the meditation [instruction] called..."

<sup>856</sup> VGB "Here ends the Victory Banner of the Summit [of] Bodhicitta, the sovereign view equal to the sky. So ha".

## ***The King of the Sky***

*(Nam mkha'i rgyal po)*

**mTsham brag /gTing skyes /Rig 'dzin version.**

Homage to the Glorious Blessed one, Samantabhadra!

The king of the sky [is] Dharmakāya primordial wisdom. Since [this] is the reality of the nature of mind, it is bliss; because the real nature of phenomena is inconceivable, it [is] the great sky. Because the sky is inconceivable, [it is] the [true] state<sup>857</sup> of the victorious ones.

From that inconceivable sky, the non-referential knowledge of the victorious ones arises in oneself. The sky transcends all definition; the sky does not even have anything that can be called "sky" [in it].

The sky [like] nature has nothing on which to meditate; it is an inexpressible, inconceivable meditation. Transcending all speech and thought, this is the very knowledge of the victors of the three times.

The sky has no [physical] body; the sky is free of mind. The sky transcends description as [being] the same or not the same. Because the sky has no [solid] presence, the sky has no pervasion, either. One can not say "this is its defining characteristic".

There are no words for it; it is [even] free of the term "all-pervasive". How could it have any virtue or non-virtue, centre, limit, or essence? Given that there are no objects or scope for the senses, involvement in illusory cause and effect deceives one's own awareness.

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<sup>857</sup> Literally, "self".

It is wordless; it is meaningless to pursue words, because even those who act for the benefit of illusory beings produce the concepts of parts and stages of realization, striving [to go] from lower to higher [ones] - a great pitfall.

Because, in this word-free state, there is neither permanence nor nothingness, [this] is the statement<sup>858</sup> of great contemplation, the definitive meaning. In this unproduced, unceasing primordial sameness, the indescribable *bindu* is the wisdom mind of the victorious ones.

What the victorious ones have declared serves to point towards this, but the action of defining and realizing is indeed also fixed in verbal reasoning and produces concepts. Therefore, the indefinable mind [of enlightenment] turns one's mindstream around [completely].<sup>859</sup>

Also, when attached to the bliss of contemplation, regarding the true nature of things that does not depend on existence, non-existence, or cause: in calm abiding<sup>860</sup> there is no Nirvāṇa, and blocking sensory appearances is a great pitfall.

One's own unaltered mind [is] from the beginning the true nature of things, and illusory purification [of it with] contemplation is the malady of effort. Since self-arising wisdom does not depend on initiation, all characteristics of hope and fear are pacified.

The qualities of the enlightened View are all-pervasive like the furthest reaches of the sky; the sky transcends the partiality of seeing and hearing - from the beginning it has had no calm abiding with either eternalism or nihilism.

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<sup>858</sup> *Lung* in Tibetan.

<sup>859</sup> My translation of the phrase *rgyud kha 'khor* is tentative, based partly on the traditional oral instruction transmitted in contemporary rDzogs chen to "turn one's mind inwards" (*sems nang la skor*).

<sup>860</sup> Tibetan *zhi ba'i gnas*, Sanskrit *śamatha*, the meditative practice of focusing the mind on a single object of attention. *Zhi ba*, "peace" or "calm" can also denote Nirvāṇa, but here it is contrasted with *mya ngan 'das*, "transcendence of suffering" which unambiguously denotes Nirvāṇa.

Because it<sup>861</sup> is all-pervasive, it is free of any eternal essence. Because it is single it is indivisible, without the designation [of] nihilism. Because it is neither produced nor destroyed there is, from the beginning, no extreme of eternalism. Because it transcends [buddha] body, speech and mind it is supremely great.

Because it transcends vows, it has no transgressions. Because it is free of mantra and mudrā it is changeless. Because it has no entrance, innermost part, or any dimensions, it is the vast inner state. Because it transcends every exterior and interior it is the secret essence itself.

Because it has neither bliss nor pain, it is the very essence of equality. Because it has no fear [of] arising or proceeding [of thoughts], it is vast spaciousness. Because it transcends any time of union and separation it is the consort that unifies [all] dimensions.

Because the nature of mind is the Dharmadhātu, everything is its sky-like [enlightened] form<sup>862</sup>. Because it transcends the multiplicity of concepts, it is the face of great primordial wisdom.

Because it is primordially peaceful<sup>863</sup>, it is spontaneously-present clear light, in whose enlightened essence there is really nothing at all to be altered. Immutable and transcending objects of attachment, the primordial wisdom of the buddhas has no definable essence.

Without emergence or proceeding [of thought], it transcends sensory objectification. The [buddha] body that gets rid of attributes does not abide and is primordially pure. It has no conceptual objects and is empty of questing sense-faculties.<sup>864</sup> Everything is one taste, the blissful indivisible expanse.

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<sup>861</sup> That is, the enlightened View, symbolised by the sky.

<sup>862</sup> Literally, [buddha] body of the sky.

<sup>863</sup> That is, primordial Nirvāṇa.

<sup>864</sup> This line is quoted in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, where it is attributed to the *Byang chub sems tig*.

In the equality of the three times there is no emergence or proceeding. Not taking, primordially free of grasping, the universal identity<sup>865</sup> is unshakeable in the expanse of the three times. Abiding totally without bias or parts is great Vajrasattva, the lord of the three times.

Without this view, one's conduct is bound by illusion. Enlightenment that transcends both the limited concepts of incorrect and correct views [is] the great mind of enlightenment that is free of thoughts.

The actual sky-like mind of enlightenment cannot be conceived of as existing, not existing or [something] between [the two] - it is inexpressible. Who could utter any word [such as] "sky" to describe what cannot even be expressed by "sky"?

This union that transcends words and mind is not directly perceptible;<sup>866</sup> it is primordially empty and apart<sup>867</sup>. Because, when this wisdom shines out, everything is one in its total purity, individual actions and characteristics are indeterminate. Therefore it transcends the limitations of [being] "one" or "many".

Although the Dharmadhātu indeed transcends objects, its ungraspable characteristics are vivid in all things. Those who see the characteristics of form [as] primordial, and those who focus on the absence of conceptual characteristics, generate the body of a noble one through illusory rainbows. Although they strive hopefully by means of [such] illusions [towards] a source, the victors have said that, even if the spontaneously-accomplished great path of total purity has no merit, one will succeed.

The unshakeable abode of the Dharmadhātu is greater; pervading everything, it is soundless, transcending words. The great assembly of the ocean-like multitude of emanations cannot stir even an atom from truth of non-action.

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<sup>865</sup> In Tibetan, *kun gyi bdag nyid*.

<sup>866</sup> That is, perceptible by the senses.

<sup>867</sup> This translation of the phrase *stong pas dben* is provisional.

Peaceful and subtle, it is difficult to obtain in a concrete way. One cannot know it through the delusory domain of the intellect. Without the concept of movement or non-movement, it even transcends the characteristics of the sky.

In this primordially-accomplished great method, one does not become accomplished through conceptual causes or alterations. Transcending approaches and limits of behaviour, how could it be maintained through delusive misconceptions?

Although the great *bindu* without characteristics manifests as emanations that are just illusions, because there is no process of differentiation or exclusion from the dimension of reality, the victorious ones have not completely praised illusion as a path.

Because the non-abiding, inexpressible Dharmakāya has never, from the beginning, abided even in a middle, in this way its blissful wisdom is limitless, and transcends the limits of appearance or speech.

[This] concludes [the teaching called] The Enlightened Mind, King of the Sky.

### **sDe dge version**

Homage to the glorious blessed one Samantabhadra!

The King of the Sky was put into verse and uttered for whoever is worthy of primordial wisdom, to transform the mind into its true nature.

<sup>868</sup>Because the true nature of things is inconceivable, it is the great sky, [but] it is totally free of those thoughts of "sky". One should not fixate even on thoughts of the sky having no thoughts, [or] of not fixating on the sky<sup>869</sup>.

It completely transcends all of the characteristics of the sky, [and] because it does not exist, there is no "sky" even in the sky. That sky is not something on which to meditate; the ineffable sky transcends non-meditation.

Transcendent, ineffable, since it is not locatable, the sky has no [physical] body; the sky is free of mind. The sky transcends sameness and difference. Because the sky has no presence, the sky has no extent.

One can not point out the thing itself<sup>870</sup>, saying "this is it". It has no words, not [even] the term "all-pervasive" - it is free of words. Virtue and non-virtue are without essence; it has no center or limit. One's own mind has no sense faculties, and is free of any field of activity.

It has no objects - dealing with objects, even as illusory, one is deceived.<sup>871</sup> There is no "wordness"<sup>872</sup> or pursuing [the meaning of] words, either. It has no illusory individual,

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<sup>868</sup> It is from this point that the sDe dge version is written in verse, with lines of nine syllables. The other versions are in verse immediately after the opening line of homage.

<sup>869</sup> I have adopted the reading in the STMG (415.4). However my translation of this difficult line is provisional.

<sup>870</sup> sDe dge and the DZP read *de nyid*, but NGDD has the more explicit *chos nyid*, "the true nature of things".

<sup>871</sup> The NGDD version here translates as "It has no objects -by dealing with illusory objects one is deceived."

<sup>872</sup> Adopting the NGDD /DZP reading *tshig nyid* here, in place of sDe dge's *chos nyid*. On the term *tshig nyid* see Jackson, 1993, p. 205, n.77, n. 78. It does occur elsewhere in rDzogs chen literature, e.g. in the *Rig pa rang grol chen po thams cad 'grol ba'i rgyud*.

provisional meaning, or two truths<sup>873</sup>. Concentrating<sup>874</sup> the mind [even] for a little while [on] these things is a great<sup>875</sup> pitfall.

Free from [the concept of] benefit, it neither thinks of it nor ceases from it.<sup>876</sup> The statements of great contemplation are totally free of [concepts of] benefit<sup>877</sup>, and their study is [being in] the actual unborn and unceasing [state]. [The nature of] mind is not an existent; unborn, it has no [beneficial] goal, nor freedom from [one].<sup>878</sup>

What the victorious ones have declared regarding striving towards the goal [is]: the very action of defining and creating realization, because it is authenticated by reasoning, brings about attachment. Therefore the process of definition turns around one's mind stream.<sup>879</sup>

Contemplation abides in attachment to the taste of bliss. The true nature of things does not depend on existence, non-existence, or cause. Therefore, if one contemplates on an object of attachment, [this is<sup>880</sup>] the level of peace<sup>881</sup>, [but] it is not Nirvāṇa.<sup>882</sup>

[Trying to] purify the true nature of one's own unaltered, unpurified mind through illusory contemplation is the malady of [ascribing to it] a cause. Since self-arising

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<sup>873</sup> That is, relative and absolute truth.

<sup>874</sup> sDe dge reads *gtong sems* (as does DZP), while NGDD has *gtod sems*. The close similarity of the final letters *nga* and *da* when written probably gave rise to this confusion. If accepted, the sDe dge reading translates as "Just a slightly lax attitude to these things". However, this is unconvincing, and moreover does not accord with the sDe dge reading *chod* "cuts [across]" at the end of the phrase. I have therefore followed the NGDD in my translation here.

<sup>875</sup> See previous note. sDe dge reads *g.yang sa chod*, which translates as "cuts across the abyss" i.e. of Samsāra, presumably. However, the other versions read *g.yang sa che*, "great abyss /pitfall". The DZP also reinforces this reading in its comment: *stong mthas ltung phyir g.yang sa che*. Since the sDe dge reading seems at odds with the rest of the passage in which it occurs, I have therefore rejected it.

<sup>876</sup> I have relied for my understanding of this line on the NGDD commentary (p. 408,2-3).

<sup>877</sup> Both commentaries read *don bral che*, but sDe dge has *nge don che*, "great definitive meaning". mTshams brag and the other witnesses are closer to sDe dge on this.

<sup>878</sup> Both commentaries here contradict the sDe dge reading *bral ba yin* "it is freedom", instead reading: *bral ba'ang med*, "there is not even freedom [from something]". As the commentaries' readings seem more plausible I have followed them in my translation.

<sup>879</sup> Compare this passage with the mTshams brag version.

<sup>880</sup> Following the NGDD reading *ste* here rather than sDe dge's *de*.

<sup>881</sup> That is, of calm abiding (*zhi gnas*).

<sup>882</sup> Amending the reading *mya ngan de mi 'da'* to *mya ngan 'das mi 'da'*.



primordial wisdom does not depend on initiation, it completely pacifies all extremes of hope and fear.

Just as the sky has no limits and no bias, there is no nirvāṇa or non-nirvāṇa - it is free of partiality.<sup>883</sup> From the beginning there is no purity or impurity, or even nirvāṇa. There is not [even] the word<sup>884</sup> "nirvāṇa" - it transcends [all] limits from the beginning.

<sup>885</sup>There is no hope, attainment, fear, or even seeing.<sup>886</sup> Primordial wisdom [is] free of purity and impurity, [which are] verbal limitations. There is nothing to fixate on in words; wisdom is primordially devoid [of words].<sup>887</sup> Nirvāṇa has no self-nature, either single<sup>888</sup> or multiple.

That which hears this and does not reject it [but] is inclined<sup>889</sup> [towards it] is the great sky [-like mind<sup>890</sup>]. Because it is immaterial, not even nirvāṇa extinguishes it.<sup>891</sup> Because it is all-pervasive, it is free of any eternal essence.<sup>892</sup> Permanence and nothingness are inseparable, [and] it is totally without appearance or emptiness.<sup>893</sup>

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<sup>883</sup> Dg is unclear here but probably reads *chos rnams bral*, "free of phenomena" here, as does NGDD. The reading in the DZP, *phyogs rnams bral*, though repetitive of *phyogs*, seems more in agreement with the rest of the passage, so I have followed it.

<sup>884</sup> Dg is unclear here but appears to read *dag*, 'pure'. I have followed the commentaries' reading *sgra*, literally "sound" instead.

<sup>885</sup> The Dg passage in the following six lines is not found in the other witnesses, apart from the first four, which are in the DZP. The last two lines, at any rate, may originate as an interlinear note.

<sup>886</sup> The corresponding DZP line (p.389.6) translates as "there is no hearing, no seeing, no hope and no fear." (*thos med mthong med re med dogs pa med*).

<sup>887</sup> Following the commentaries' reading of *dben* instead of Dg's *bden*, "truth /true" here.

<sup>888</sup> The DZP (p.384.5) contains a line which begins almost identically, but with the variant *gcig* rather than *tshig*. This is a line also found in the STMG (370.6-371.1), where it is attributed to the *sProd pa med pa'i tig*. If their reading is adopted, the translation is: "singularity and plurality" which makes more sense than "words and plurality". I have therefore followed this reading. However, it should be noted that the second half of this line in Dg and NGDD diverges completely from the DZP /STMG reading of *gcig dang du ma'i mtha' las 'das pa ni*, "transcending the limits of singularity or plurality,"

<sup>889</sup> sDe dge reads *mi sdangs*, which would give "does not fear it". I have followed the NGDD reading in my translation, but there is little to choose between them.

<sup>890</sup> The NGDD commentary explains "sky" here as "one's own mind, the sky of self-arising primordial wisdom".

<sup>891</sup> Adopting the NGDD and DZP reading (*chad pa'ang med*) in preference to that of sD dge (*chags pa'ang med*) "it is not attached" here, as this more closely fits the context and follows the text as given by the other witnesses.

<sup>892</sup> The DZP has *bdag dang bral ba'o*, "it is free of a self".

<sup>893</sup> Adopting the DZP /NGDD reading *snang stong* ("appearance or emptiness") in preference to sDe dge's very smudged possible reading of *snang thos*, "appearance or hearing".

Because production and destruction occur, there is, from the beginning, no limited "self". Because it is free of [buddha] body, speech and mind, it is supremely great.<sup>894</sup> Because it is free of mantra and mudrā it has no transgressions. Because it is free of exterior, interior, entrance or innermost part [it is] the very [state of] inner vastness.<sup>895</sup>

Because it is free of all centrality or edge it is the very essence.<sup>896</sup> In this state of equality neither bliss nor pain exists, from the beginning. If the non-grasping intellectual mind does not produce any [conception] whatsoever<sup>897</sup>, freedom or not being free [from something] are immaterial and not something on which to fixate.

The Dharma practitioner [of] the nature of mind does not have a [buddha] body in his mind.<sup>898</sup> Transcending sound, the essence of sound is primordial wisdom. The clear light of nirvāṇa is primordially, spontaneously present. Being endowed with *bodhicitta* means that there is nothing to alter.

Non-abiding, it has nothing that could be subject to becoming changed. The immutable primordial wisdom of the Buddhas has no essence.<sup>899</sup> Not emerging or continuing, without object, it is empty<sup>900</sup> of sense-faculties. It has no [buddha] body that expels characteristics because it is pure.<sup>901</sup>

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<sup>894</sup> The NGDD, DZP and STMG (349.2) all concur in reading *che ba'i mchog*, "supremely great" rather than sDe dge's *bde ba'i mchog* ("supreme bliss").

<sup>895</sup> Both commentaries along with the STMG (366.5) read *rgya che(n) nang pa nyid* - "the very state of inner vastness". They all have a hypermetrical line of 11 syllables - it may be that the sDe dge redactor has taken out two syllables to correct this.

<sup>896</sup> NGDD has "it is emptiness".

<sup>897</sup> Adopting the DZP reading *gang dang 'ang (mi skye na)*, "whatsoever" where Dg has *gang du'ang (mi skye na)*, "wherever".

<sup>898</sup> My translation of this passage follows the explanation given in the NGDD. "The nature of mind which is the basis of all Dharma(s) does not enter into the mind in such a fashion as this, because it transcends any teaching through sounds." (417.5-6)

<sup>899</sup> Both commentaries indicate that this line is a quotation from another source.

<sup>900</sup> Adopting the DZP /STMG (366.5) reading *dbang pos stong* rather than Dg's *dbang po ste*.

<sup>901</sup> Adopting the DZP reading (DZP p.386.6) *dag pas na* / rather than the Dg /NGDD reading *dag bstan stong*.

Even though one enjoys the realm of blissful one-taste, unless one is free of attachment to [that] indivisible bliss,<sup>902</sup> even [in] the equality of the three times, emergence and continuation occur. If one does not grasp, and is totally free of attachment, the identity<sup>903</sup> of the three times is great Vajrasattva. The universal identity<sup>904</sup> is unshakeable in the space of the three times.

Without this view, one's conduct will be bound by illusion.<sup>905</sup> Unless this view is embraced, one will not go beyond Saṃsāra. Both right and wrong views [are] enlightened: in enlightenment itself there is no right and wrong [view]. The mind of enlightenment that is free of thoughts is the very sky. It is even free of the very thought [that it is] like the sky.

Inexpressible, it cannot be conceived of as existing, not existing or even [something] in-between. It [even] transcends the non-abiding, inexpressible sky.

In the [enlightened] mind there is nothing that words can express, and no [buddha] body either.

When one practices union with the nature of mind that is beyond words, it is not a tangible state, it is not a pursuit<sup>906</sup> - it is empty and apart. The reality of primordial wisdom "transcends thought".<sup>907</sup>

<sup>908</sup>Because totally pure primordial wisdom is single, there is no path of liberation [that has] characteristics. Transcending the limitations of [being] one or many, the

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<sup>902</sup> The preceding two lines (beginning "even though one enjoys...") are not found in the DZP. The Dg version here omits the single line quote attributed in the STMG to the *Byang chub sems tig* which the other versions of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* all contain. We perhaps see here a divergence in attitude to the experience of bliss between Dg and the other witnesses.

<sup>903</sup> NGDD has "the equality of the three times".

<sup>904</sup> In Tibetan, *kun gyi bdag nyid*.

<sup>905</sup> Following the commentaries' as well as the other witnesses' reading for this line.

<sup>906</sup> The NGDD reading here translates as "perceptible objects do not arise" (*mngon sum gyi dmigs mi 'byung*)

<sup>907</sup> The phrase *zhes 'byung* indicates a quotation here, but its source is not given.

Dharmadhātu has no variegated<sup>909</sup> characteristics.<sup>910</sup> If there are no characteristics of form, what variegation could there be?

If one does not practice in the state of sounds and thoughts,<sup>911</sup> where is there anything to study<sup>912</sup> or to pray for on the path? What is the point<sup>913</sup>, since non-thought and the Dharmakāya are the same?

Although one may generate the body of a noble one through illusory rainbows, since, despite generating merit, it is an impermanent illusion,<sup>914</sup> the victors have said that, on the spontaneously-accomplished great path of total purity, one will succeed even if one has no merit.

The greater, unshakeable<sup>915</sup> single [state] in the Dharmadhātu, since it pervades everything, transcends soundlessness itself. Just as even a great host of a hundred million emanations can not tame [beings] in the state of action and actor<sup>916</sup>, nirvāṇa is subtle<sup>917</sup>, and to locate it in a concrete way is difficult.

It is not within the domain of intellectuals; it cannot be known through delusion. It is not a practice of purification - [that] is a transient illusion. It even transcends the characteristics of the sky.

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<sup>908</sup> This passage, up to "the Dharmadhātu has no characteristics to seek" as well as appearing in the DZP is quoted by the STMG (with minor variants, at STMG 370.6 - 371.1) where it is attributed to the *Sprod pa med pa'i tig*.

<sup>909</sup> Dg reads *bkri ba med*. However the DZP (and the STMG) read *bkra ba med*, "no variegation /radiance". *bKra ba* also occurs a few lines later in the other witnesses.

<sup>910</sup> The DZP does not quote or comment on any more of the sDe dge text from about this point.

<sup>911</sup> The NGDD has *rtog pa*, "concepts /thoughts" where sD dge has *rtogs pa*, "realization". As the text goes on to mention non-thought, I have followed the NGDD reading.

<sup>912</sup> Literally, to hear.

<sup>913</sup> The NGDD has *ci zhig cya*, "what is the point /use?" rather than the sDe dge reading *ci zhes bya*.

<sup>914</sup> The NGDD reads *mi rtog na* "since /if [one does] not conceive [of it] as illusory..."

<sup>915</sup> Dg actually reads *mi bskyed*, where the other witnesses have *mi bskyod*. In order to propose a feasible translation, I have preferred the latter.

<sup>916</sup> The NGDD reads *bya med ngang la*, "in the state [where there is] nothing to do", which seems more intelligible in this context.

<sup>917</sup> sDe dge reads *zhi ba lta ste* "looking [at] Nirvāṇa" or, "view [of] Nirvāṇa", but the NGDD has *zhi la 'phra ste*, literally "[There is] subtlety in Nirvāṇa". Both the phrase *zhi la 'phra* as well as the verb *blta* occur in a *Bhavanakrama* (sGom *pa'i rim pa*) quote from the *Samādhirājasūtra*: *'phags pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po'i mdo las, ting nge 'dzin ni snyoms pa'i sa, zhi la phra ste blta dka' ba*.

In this primordially-accomplished great method, the great method is not purification [through] illusory modifications. Unless one is free of modifying through delusory methods, what use is the great method of non-thought?<sup>918</sup>

No matter what illusions this great true nature of things that has no characteristics<sup>919</sup> may transform into <sup>920</sup> in the Dharmadhātu, the victorious ones have not praised<sup>921</sup> illusion as a path.

The non-abiding Dharmakāya transcends even inexpressibility, and is not [even] describable as [something] in the middle; it is goal-free. Wish-fulfilling primordial wisdom that is limitless as space<sup>922</sup> transcends [even] non-manifestation and inexpressibility.

<sup>923</sup>Teaching the totally pure meaning [drawn] from the Dharmadhātu, through this teaching of the King of the Sky [of] primordial wisdom, may those whose supreme minds have no doubt realize the essence of non-dual enlightenment.

The End.

Fortunate persons who have no doubts will accomplish [this] detailed explanation distilled from the Dharmadhātu. [You] whose minds are turned towards liberation and realization, listen hard! From the realm of immaculate primordial wisdom, [this] is a sūtra of <sup>924</sup>Atiyoga, the display of great bliss.

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<sup>918</sup> The NGDD here reads *mi rtag thams cad de yis ci zhig bya*, "everything [is] impermanent, so what therefore is the use?"

<sup>919</sup> The NGDD has an extra line here, which translates, with the previous one, as "This great true nature of things that has no characteristics is not the illusory characteristics [that manifest] from the Dharmadhātu".

<sup>920</sup> The NGDD reading translates as "Whatever illusion it becomes in the Dharmadhātu,"

<sup>921</sup> The NGDD has *ma gsungs so*, "has not spoken of".

<sup>922</sup> This line is found near the beginning of the DZP, where it is followed by the line "[You] whose minds are turned towards liberation and realization, listen hard!"

<sup>923</sup> This passage (up to "non-dual enlightenment") only occurs in sDe dge.

<sup>924</sup> The NGDD adds *lta ba* here, "(a sūtra of) the view (of Atiyoga)".

## *The Jewel-Array of Bliss*

(*bDe ba phra bkod*)<sup>925</sup>

In the Indian language: *Sukhaprakate*. In Tibetan: *bDe ba phra bkod*. [In English: The Jewel-array of bliss].<sup>926</sup>

Homage to the Blessed one, glorious Samantabhadra!

Because the mind<sup>927</sup> has no limit or centre, it is not separate from primordial wisdom that has no interior or exterior. Because the mind has no renunciation or acceptance, it is a Jewel-Array of Bliss.

Because it remains in the spontaneously-accomplished, unsought-for goal [that is] the unborn state, it is a Jewel-Array of Bliss. In the unproduced, great mind of enlightenment, the further perfection of perfection<sup>928</sup> soars in the expanse of bliss.

Not dependent on anything, free from any object of attachment, the [true] meaning of [being] free from Samsāra is the Jewel-Array. Because there is nothing to be accomplished, the fruition is spontaneously accomplished. Because there is nothing to be accomplished, the deities transcend suffering.

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<sup>925</sup> The title is given in a Tibetan transliteration of Sanskrit, as *Su kha pra ka te*. This would mean something like "Manifestation of bliss", a rather different meaning to the Tibetan phrase *phra bkod* (*pa*) which translates as "Jewel-Array", and (*byang chub sems*) *bde ba phra bkod* as "Jewel-Array of Bliss (of *bodhicitta*)". The word "cosmos", tinged with its original Greek sense of "adornment", might perhaps convey something of the meaning of *phra bkod*, but I decided it would be better to adhere to a more literal translation.

<sup>926</sup> Dalton 2004 p.13 and n. 34 cites a passage from the *Mukhāgama* by Buddhajñānapāda (first quarter of ninth century) which describes the practice of *sbyor ba*, in terms of the vajra resting in the lotus, the semen offered like a jasmine flower, "and the bliss dwells as a jewel" (*bde ba de nyid nor bur 'dug*). This may help to put into context the "jewel-array" or "inset jewel" of this text's title.

<sup>927</sup> In this context and throughout the text, "mind" (*sems*) appears synonymous with the mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta* / *byang chub sems*).

<sup>928</sup> This phrase, *rdzogs pa'i yang rdzogs*, has important doctrinal significance in relation to the early development of the Great Perfection.

Because it is inexpressible, there is no writing to guide [one]. Because it is free of all labels [and] production<sup>929</sup>, bliss manifests in oneself. Because it enters confidently into the unproduced [expanse] there is no uniting or separation, from the beginning. The jewel-array of bliss is [all-] pervasive, without limit or centre.

The nature of non-duality is a Jewel-Array. When non-apparent<sup>930</sup> [pure] awareness arises<sup>931</sup> [it is] free of all materiality. When it touches the unproduced expanse it has nothing to radiate.<sup>932</sup> Uncontrived, spontaneously-accomplished [pure] awareness arises in oneself.

In the supporting expanse, the five elements themselves are the Dharma<sup>933</sup>. The supreme body of accomplishment is the Dharmakāya, the great pervasion.<sup>934</sup> Because it is free of attachment and aversion towards tokens of existence, [and] therefore does not move or change, its compassionate energy enters confidently.

The fruition, the actualization of buddhahood, is a Jewel-Array of Bliss. The journey on the actual path of cessation<sup>935</sup> to its consummation, consummating in the non-dual

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<sup>929</sup> This and the following line are hypermetrical (11 syllables rather than 9) and possibly corrupt. I have followed the majority reading (*gdags skyed*). The reading found in Dg., *bdag skyed*, “self generation”, is a technical term of the tantric *bskyed rim* practice, meaning that one visualizes oneself as the *yidam* deity, rather than visualizing the deity in space in front of one (*mdun bskyed*).

<sup>930</sup> *Snang med rig pa* is presumably similar to *snang med 'od gsal*, empty luminosity of the Dharmakāya (as opposed to apparent luminosity, which the *Rang Byung Ye shes Dictionary* defines as “The first of the three stages of appearance, increase and attainment” - vision-producing radiant light, *thig le* and rainbows etc. These ideas, however, pertain to the practice of *thod rgal*, and their presence in this particular text is debatable.

<sup>931</sup> Dg alone has *shes pas* rather than *shar bas* here. Perhaps there was some doctrinal objection to the association of *rig pa* with “arising” (*shar ba*) as Dg again removes the word *rig pa* from association with *shar ba* two lines further on.

<sup>932</sup> This may be connected with the practice of visualizing light-rays emanating from oneself as the deity.

<sup>933</sup> It is possible that the last two words of the phrase *byung ba lnga nyid chos* should be reversed, to *chos nyid*.

<sup>934</sup> On the concept of pervasion (*gdal ba /brdol ba*) see my discussion of the view of gSal ba rgyal, p.\*\*\*

<sup>935</sup> *'gog pa dang lam* is a more usual phrase than *'gog pa'i lam*, but I have found the phrase in a work by Phabongka (*mdo rgyan sbyar ba'i bshad lung dang dbu ma la 'jug pa'i zab bshad nos skabs kyi brjed tho thor tzam du bkod pa dang, dbu ma'i brjed byang nyung ngu bcas*): *theg chen gyi lam yin na srid zhi'i mtha' gnyis 'gog pa'i lam yin*.

expanse of equality, has no basis for resting [one's mind<sup>936</sup>], [but] remains in unproduced *bodhicitta*.<sup>937</sup>

The renunciation<sup>938</sup> of the Five Poisons is the jewel-array [of] the five *kāyas*. There is no action to engage in; it transcends the domain of attachment and aversion. There is no practice to be accomplished, [and] no fixation<sup>939</sup> upon any deities. There is no meditation to be done; [it is] free of any object of attention.

There is, from the beginning, nothing to be done to uphold ethical discipline. If one possesses the confidence that [it] is primordially<sup>940</sup> upheld, [then] buddhahood is accomplished. Enlightened activity is not [something] to be sought; Saṃsāra [is] Nirvāṇa. Because the mind has no birth or death, it is a Jewel-Array of Bliss.

Through remaining in the unwavering expanse, there is no transformation into anything. Because [it] pervades the whole of what appears and exists, it is without limit or centre. Because it is not obstructed by anything, it is a luminous<sup>941</sup> Jewel-Array. Because it remains in the blissful expanse, it is free from suffering.

Transcendence of suffering<sup>942</sup> [is] an indication of accomplishing the fruition as the Dharmakāya. The fruition, primordially omnipresent<sup>943</sup>, is spontaneously-accomplished as the Dharmakāya. The teaching of [this] view has, from the beginning, no point of error. Because luminosity arises in oneself<sup>944</sup>, the mind has no waning.

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<sup>936</sup> That is, for placing of the mind in meditation.

<sup>937</sup> The passage translated in this paragraph is absent from Dg.

<sup>938</sup> Dg has *spangs pas* - "by renouncing"

<sup>939</sup> *Rang byung Ye shes Dictionary* gives *rten mi bca'* as "not fixate upon". The reading here is '*cha'* - *bca'*' is the future stem.

<sup>940</sup> Dg has *mi bsrung*, "not upheld" where the other versions have *ye bsrung*.

<sup>941</sup> sDe dge has "luminous" (*gsal ba*). All other witnesses have "secret" (*gsang ba*). I have chosen the sDe dge reading here because it seems more intelligible for what is non-obstructed to be luminous rather than to be secret.

<sup>942</sup> That is, *Nirvāṇa*.

<sup>943</sup> Adopting the Tk /VGB reading *ye gdal* (Dg *ye brdal*) here, rather than *ye la*, an anomalous collocation.

<sup>944</sup> This is a passage that could conceivably be interpreted as referring to the practice of *thod rgal*.



When one has reached the peak of the unwaning victory-banner, no downfall can take place. There is no object of fixation, no support; [it is] beyond location. When there is no attachment or aversion, [one] is free of suffering. Immutable spontaneous accomplishment remains in the expanse of bliss.

[When one] actually realizes equality, it is a jewel-array.<sup>945</sup> Transcending the limits of meditation and accomplishment, [one] remains in the expanse of equality. Because the [essential] nature is spontaneously accomplished, there is no cause or result. The luminosity that arises in oneself<sup>946</sup> has neither day nor night.<sup>947</sup>

Permeating everything without obstruction<sup>948</sup>, it is a primordial all-pervasive jewel-array. In the unproduced expanse pristine awareness arises in oneself. After definitively realizing the ultimate truth, one soars in the expanse of equality.<sup>949</sup> After one rests<sup>950</sup> in the state of equality, one is sure that the three times<sup>951</sup> are [really] one.

In the principle [which teaches] there is nothing on which to meditate, sensations, agitation and dullness that do not obtain the path of liberation<sup>952</sup> are [themselves] the state of resting in non-dual sameness<sup>953</sup>. From the unproduced expanse the elixir of awareness arises. Because it is free from all materiality, appearance<sup>954</sup> naturally arises.

Free from the concepts of subject and object, bliss arises<sup>955</sup> in oneself. Free from attachment and aversion, the attainment of ultimate realization [is] the mind [of

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<sup>945</sup> Dg inserts: "From the unproduced expanse, pristine awareness arises in oneself /after realizing the definitive, ultimate truth one soars in the expanse of equality". These two lines, with very minor variants, are found a little further on in the other versions.

<sup>946</sup> Note the repetition of this phrase.

<sup>947</sup> This passage is another that may prefigure *thod rgal*.

<sup>948</sup> This phrase is repeated almost identically above.

<sup>949</sup> Dg inserts these two lines earlier; see note 16 above.

<sup>950</sup> Tk.VGB /Dg have the past stem *bzhag*, here, which I have followed, rather than *gzha*.

<sup>951</sup> That is, past, present, and future.

<sup>952</sup> Dg inserts an extra phrase here: "(Ordinary mental activity, agitation and dullness do not obtain the path of liberation) (and?) are meditative concentration." The words *mnyam par bzhag* which Dg inserts here, are found in the next line in the other versions, omitted by Dg.

<sup>953</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>954</sup> "Appearance" (*snang ba*) can also be translated as "luminosity".

<sup>955</sup> Dg has *snang*, "appears /shines forth" rather than "arises" (*shar*) here.

enlightenment] which has no meditation to do: it transcends the limits of verbalization. Since there is nothing to accomplish, it is free of written sounds.<sup>956</sup>

There is nothing to uphold; it is a primordially-upheld Jewel-Array.

[This] concludes the Jewel-Array of bliss [of] *bodhicitta*.

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<sup>956</sup> At this point, Dg abruptly breaks off into another text, to which it gives two alternative titles: *Byang chub sems tig* and *rDzogs pa spyi gcod*.

## *Universally Inclusive [Perfection]*<sup>957</sup>

([rDzogs pa] spyi bcings)

Homage to glorious Samantabhadra!<sup>958</sup>

[This] is the clarification, without confusion, of the all-inclusive Mantra[yāna] scriptural transmissions.

The self exists. There is no other. Spontaneous perfection exists, as the Great Self. Because it is one with the state of Samantabhadra, there is no other. In [the notion of] no-self, one falls into the error of nihilism.

As sentient beings' conceptual thoughts increase, [those] thoughts spin [them in Saṃsāra]. Once concepts have left their karmic imprint, [they] become [caught] in the conceptual state.

The Sūtra section and treatises that are provisional in meaning explain [phenomena] as empty. Moreover, they explain them as non-existent. Even more than that, emptiness [itself] is explained as non-self. This, unless comprehended by scriptural transmission, is not proper, and is the non-Buddhist view of nihilism, which is difficult to alter, and a serious misdeed. Therefore it is taught that a conceptual view, which is easier to alter, is less dangerous.

Even meditation on non-thought is a mental process, with a great risk of leading to [a view of] mere nothingness, which is difficult to correct. Therefore, grasping at a visualised swift<sup>959</sup> cause<sup>960</sup> is easier to correct, because grasping arises from obtaining<sup>961</sup>.

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<sup>957</sup> O rgyan gling pa gives the title as *The Universal Inclusiveness of the Mind of Enlightenment* (Byang sems spyi chings).

<sup>958</sup> There is no end-quote particle after the homage, but even so I take it to be part of the root text.

What shows this?

Just as grasping a snake is bad, so is a mistaken approach [to] knowledge mantras. Emptiness is hard to censure, [but] conceptual thoughts are basically easy.

But if so, [you] may say, doesn't [this] become a concept? In this sense it is not a concept: because permanence does not exist, therefore [the concept of] "other" is negated. Because nothingness does not exist, therefore the self is included; and so both eternalism and nihilism are purified.

Since there is no production or cessation, they are also negated, and because there is no self or duality, there is also purity. The whole universe in its identity with the self is the spontaneous accomplishment of Great Perfection in oneself.

When the great perpetuity [that is] Vairocana, Sattvavajra [and] supreme Aksobhya<sup>962</sup> clearly manifests in this way, since one is completely free of any ground for doubt after thoroughly investigating the Mahāyāna Sūtra Section Middle Way and so forth, for that reason one is vividly cognizant of everything, without concepts. After gaining certainty through this view, there is only a slight mention [here] of the lower Secret *Yānas*.<sup>963</sup>

Concerning the actual explanation: although those [lower vehicles] are said not to explain the distinctions in the context of the fruition, in the context of the cause<sup>964</sup> they do not go

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<sup>959</sup> *drag dal* appears in the *Man ngag lta ba'i 'phreng ba* as part of a longer phrase *drag dal du 'gro ba* "to go with firm steps", which Karmay (1988, p. 161, n. 99) notes is explained as "to go with fast steps means to go simultaneously and not gradually".

<sup>960</sup> The word "rgyu" simply means "cause", but here and elsewhere in this text it refers to the second of the three *samādhi* of Mahāyoga, the causal *samādhi*.

<sup>961</sup> The word "obtaining" (*lon*) may have a special technical meaning here as found perhaps in the title of the Chan text "*sems lon*" that is frequently referred to in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*. It also occurs in Dunhuang text PT 117, in the title of the *bSam gtan gyi lon*, a work attributed by Sa skya Paṇḍita to Hvasang Mahāyāna. See Karmay, 1975, p. 153.

<sup>962</sup> Vajrasattva is Akṣobhya's *sambhogakāya* form, and Vairocana is his *nirmāṇakāya* aspect, so we have here the three *kāya*.

<sup>963</sup> Concerning these "lower secret *yānas*" the KSG commentary specifies "the Mahāyoga and so on".

<sup>964</sup> See note 4.

wrong. However, they do stray from the [oral] statements. How do they go astray [from] the Mantra[yāna]? The [*samādhi* of] Suchness [encompasses] the Causal and the [All]-illuminating [*samādhis*]. As for Suchness that is described as deity meditation: although, in the view of unwise people who have not studied<sup>965</sup> the great [oral] statements, it may seem to correspond to *samādhi*, the mantra[yāna] precepts [teach that it] leads to the Meditation of the Gods. [There are] two fears: that *samādhi* will hinder [future] rebirths, [and] that, even if one cleanses the mind-stream through the absence of thought and remains in the three isolations<sup>966</sup>, some slight thought may arise.

The method of entry, the explanation of the View, and each of the different types of actions, from the basics, and also the Mantra[yāna *samādhi* of ] Suchness, unless comprehended through the [oral] statements, are inappropriate. How is that? If you just practice one [*samādhi*], you will not succeed, but since [practicing] the three [*samādhis*] one by one is an [even] graver error, although there are precepts for beginners that just teach each of these three individually, they should all be practiced simultaneously.

In that case, [you may] object that, because [the *samādhi* of] Suchness is without any [visualized] object, but the Causal [*samādhi*] has an object, it seems difficult if [not] impossible to practice them [both] at the same time. But through the [oral] statements, it is easy to progress.

This is illustrated, for example, by the [reflection of] the moon in water, [or] a mirror, [or] an ocean wave - the cause that arises from within shines out from its own depths. There is no fault of becoming fixated.

Meditation on animals [and] human beings<sup>967</sup> as buddha forms, and the radiation and reabsorption from a<sup>968</sup> single self of the many deities of the maṇḍala and [their]

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<sup>965</sup> Literally, “not heard” ( *ma thos* )

<sup>966</sup> I assume that *dgon pa gsum* here is equivalent to *dben pa gsum*, that is, isolation of body, speech and mind.

<sup>967</sup> The phrase *sems can mi las* is difficult, and I have tentatively emended it to *mi lus*.

<sup>968</sup> The phrase *bdag gcig su las* is difficult to construe and my translation here is provisional.

emanations, are purified through the unimaginable radiation and reabsorption [of] luminosity itself.

The pleasure and suffering of dreams, when one awakes, are exactly the same in nature; and similarly, conceptual thought and non-thought, too, when [one has] pristine awareness, are equal in their essential nature.<sup>969</sup> In [their] non-fabricated [nature] they<sup>970</sup> are primordial, spontaneously-accomplished perfection.

In that case, if they are perfect from the beginning, one may wonder whether meditation is now pointless. It is not pointless. From the non-existing cause existence manifests: the supreme maṇḍala of familiarization with what was [previously] not seen. If there is a cause that at first is non-existent, what substance does it have [to create] conceptual thought?

These are the teachings on the Great Activity.

The clarification of the [oral] statement of the Mantra [...] <sup>971</sup> monks [and?] sthāviras<sup>972</sup> will be blind.<sup>973</sup>

This wonderful vajra [and] lotus of the totally-pure self is the father, [and at the same time] his own child.<sup>974</sup> This lineage is the primordial view.

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<sup>969</sup> Although explicated in the commentary, this passage may possibly be quoted from a different source, rather than the *sPyi bcings*, as it ends with *zhes gsungs pa*.

<sup>970</sup> The commentary explains this as referring to "the Three *Samādhis* and so on."

<sup>971</sup> As the commentary ends this phrase with "From" and the next with "up to", part of the source text is probably omitted here.

<sup>972</sup> I have not so far found a convincing explanation for the reading *ban thangs mi phyed* that would corroborate the interpretation given in the commentary.

<sup>973</sup> This passage resists meaningful translation and is very probably incomplete (see note 16). The commentary on it makes no specific mention of monks (*ban*). It states that mixing up the explanations of Mantrayāna with those of other vehicles, in particular the sūtra vehicle, leads to the foundation of erroneous scriptural systems, causes obscurations in those who confuse them, and blindfolds the vision of others.

<sup>974</sup> The commentary explains that the Basis and Essence of enlightenment act as mutual cause and result: *gzhi dang ngo bo nyid kyi phyir / rtogs nas snang bar 'gyur ba'i phyir / phan tshun rgyu dang 'bras bur gyur pas*.

This great ocean of the Secret Mantra [*yāna*] can not be realized through comparisons, logical reasoning, inference, or superior knowledge.<sup>975</sup> Therefore, the great Self<sup>976</sup> of the Secret Mantra[*yāna*] that abounds in a great wave of accomplishments, whose unimaginable depth is hard to fathom, is accomplished by obtaining the statements and esoteric instructions.

<sup>977</sup> For example, after barley and buckwheat have been mixed up, though they are poured together, they show up individually, [and] similarly, although mantra[*yāna*] and meditative absorption may be mixed up, from the point of view of the wise, the greater special qualities of the mantra[*yāna*] manifest distinctly.

That which abides in great bliss [is] the great perpetuity, the perfect Sambhogakāya. Precious enlightenment that transcends the Three Realms - since it is empty, where will it be found by searching for it? The essence of primordial wisdom is no different from the beings that are primordially present in the fluid of the great sphere.<sup>978</sup>

<sup>979</sup> As for the person who elucidates these inner and outer teachings individually, [and who] does not mix them up, [or] abandon anything [of] the provisional meaning, [but] encompasses [them] with the state of great equality, the Dharmadhātu - [he] understands all the Buddha's teachings without exception, and remains within the great oral precepts. Though his body is human, his mind is a Buddha. [Such a] teacher is called "the light of

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<sup>975</sup> This passage beginning "This great ocean..." is quoted in the STMG at fol. 295.5

<sup>976</sup> In Tibetan *bdag nyid che*.

<sup>977</sup> Two lines that occur here may also be part of the root text. They translate as: "In terms of analysis, even what is to be actually accomplished is explained without being mixed up, as well as not mixing up the experiences that follow."

<sup>978</sup> The "Great sphere" (*thig le chen po*) is a synonym in rDzogs chen for the all-encompassing state of enlightenment.

<sup>979</sup> There is a passage preceding this which could also be part of the root text: - "When the supreme vehicle that teaches in this way and the samādhi of the sūtra section are mixed, the meditation and conduct [are like this] - they destroy the power of the mantra[*yāna*] and have the fault of seeking the view and conduct of the sūtra section. If gum is mixed into butter, as well as the gum's strength being damaged, the butter's colour is also damaged, so it is wrong for both." This passage ends with the phrase *zhes gsungs so*, indicating the end of a citation, but less often found here than *zhes bya ba* after root text citations. Moreover, it is not itself commented on, which would also tend to imply that it is not part of the root text. However, the passage is important for doctrinal history as it stresses the distinction between "the supreme vehicle", which here is Mahāyoga but with a very pronounced rDzogs chen flavour, and "sūtra section samādhi" - a reference to Chan.

the world"<sup>980</sup>, and even the Victorious ones of the three times pay him homage,<sup>981</sup> and all of the inner and outer oath-bound [guardians] also pay him heed and carry out whatever he commands.

Someone who lacks such realization, [and] the statements<sup>982</sup>, in his extreme ignorance [will be] seized by arrogance. His speech will also then become extremely deluded and contradictory [to the Dharma]. Claiming that it is the unsurpassed Great Perfection, sons of the Victorious ones who rely merely on the *samādhī* of the instantaneous approach<sup>983</sup> violate the statements by assuming the role<sup>984</sup> of commoners.<sup>985</sup>

<sup>986</sup> Therefore, this non-waning lamp of the teachings is the province of those persons who have thoroughly purified their minds through an unimaginably [long] series of lives, placed their minds in the natural state over and over again, and paid reverence to the Victorious ones. But for those who only know how to mouth the meaning of their *samaya*, who mix up inner and outer teachings as a casual concoction, and lack the esoteric precepts of the Mantra[*yāna*], considering<sup>987</sup> the risks [of it] entering their hearts, it is secret.

If an unsuitable recipient should hear it, it will become a great burden, and he will wander continually. There are three statements of esoteric precepts<sup>988</sup>, therefore,<sup>989</sup> because of the great danger and the difficult burden. [Of] the Precepts [in] Three Statements, the first

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<sup>980</sup> This phrase occurs in the *rDo la gser zhun*, (l.4) where it may also be a quotation.

<sup>981</sup> Literally, "place him on the crown of their heads".

<sup>982</sup> *Lung*, here refers to the personal statements /instructions of the lineage masters.

<sup>983</sup> i.e. Chan

<sup>984</sup> STMG "falling to the role of commoners."

<sup>985</sup> This passage, from " Claiming that it is the unsurpassed Great Perfection ..." is quoted in the STMG at fol. 311.5-6

<sup>986</sup> Between the end of the previous passage and the start of this one there are two quotations, but they are not commented upon, and do not seem to be part of the root text.

<sup>987</sup> Amending *bstos* to *bltos*

<sup>988</sup> There is an intriguing echo here of the famous three-line teaching known to the tradition as "*Tshig gsum gnad brdeg*", "Hitting the essential point in three statements", said to be the last testament of the eighth century rDzogs chen master dGa' rab rdo rje.

<sup>989</sup> There is a row of dots between "therefore" and the rest of this sentence, possibly indicating a lacuna in the source text. This hypothesis is supported by the commentary on this line: " Because there is a very great risk in not knowing the chosen recipient, it is hard [for him] to hold it in mind."



gives a clear idea, the second gives understanding, and through the third, the meaning has been properly understood.<sup>990</sup>

If they have not heard these three [precepts] or have not understood their meaning, some people will talk [of] emptiness, and others of permanence, and these will be signs of their having only understood just a few words, and also expose [the fact] that they lack the three precepts.

Moreover, these three are a single state. To enter it without altering [anything] is spontaneously-accomplished Great Perfection. Apart from this, there is no other state beyond concepts. Because he remains in the unitary state of Samantabhadra, the Blessed one is ornamented with emptiness.

The statements of the Great Perfection [explain that] the sphere of the secret moon<sup>991</sup> perfects birth [and] cessation in the self; the cause that perpetually shines forth in the mind of great beings, [and that] all Buddhas [are] non-existent<sup>992</sup>. The enlightened [state] roams freely and without impediment.<sup>993</sup> "Therefore, whatever [their] thoughts and deeds may be like, do not give [this teaching] to anyone who is fixated on attaining [this] goal" is the advice.<sup>994</sup>

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<sup>990</sup> The commentary (fol. 20 r.4-20 v. 3) elaborates on these esoteric precepts. It includes a reference to the Peaceful and Wrathful (*zhi khro*) deities. Its explanation includes the term *kun rtags pa*, the first of the Three Natures or Three Aspects (*trisvabhāva*) of Cittamatra. The Three Precepts may therefore have consisted of an early rDzogs chen explanation of the Three Samādhi of Mahāyoga, with perhaps some influence from Cittamatra doctrine.

<sup>991</sup> The commentary explains (fol. 20 v.3 /p. 480.3) that the "Sphere of the secret moon" (*zla gsang thig le*) signifies primordial wisdom. This is also the title of an extant Mahāyoga tantra.

<sup>992</sup> This line is extremely terse and challenging to translate. I have relied for my interpretation on the commentary (fol. 22r.1-3), which states that the true nature of all conventionally-designated things is insubstantial, without color or desire, and that to be free of thoughts of such things is to enter the definitive oral precepts.

<sup>993</sup> See previous note The line *ma bkag ci bder byang chub yan du khye* is cited in the STMG at fol. 453.1

<sup>994</sup> This passage ending with the "is the advice" (*ces gdams pa'o*) indicates the end of a citation that could be from elsewhere, but it is also possible that the *sPyi chings* itself concluded here, as what follows begins with the text's title and refers to how it should be transmitted, and appears to be supplemental in character. It does however, receive some commentarial explanation

After lucidly drawing out all the coiled words of Universal Inclusiveness, it should be listened to<sup>995</sup> by [only] one or two. Glorious Hayagriva, having grasped the stacked entrance to the maṇḍala of the heart, resides [there]. If this is violated, for the sake of the author<sup>996</sup> himself [you] should bear in mind that, as the Buddha has said in numerous scriptures, this will cause many evils to occur in this and future lives, just as a magnet attracts iron.

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<sup>995</sup> Literally, "grasped in the ear".

<sup>996</sup> *Byed pa po* could alternatively refer to the person who commits the violation.

## ***The Essence of Bodhicitta***

*(Byang chub sems tig)*

sDe dge vol. Cha fol. 97a 6<sup>997</sup>

Since all phenomena have a single cause in the [ultimate] expanse, Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are non-dual, and depending on how one observes, are the expanse of Samantabhadra. The [buddha] body of bliss is unimpaired and inseparable from [this] expanse.

Because all phenomenal existence is pure from the beginning, the nature of the mind of sentient beings is victorious Buddhahood. Vajrasattva, indivisible primordial Buddhahood, [is] the supremely blissful Dharmakāya of primordial purity

It is free of [even] the term meditation that does not need to be sought, and cannot [even] be described as transcending words. Primordial buddhahood is not an object of [philosophical] view; the enlightened essence is not a mental object.

The yogi who, like a child, seeks for an object, errs from the true meaning. Since that goal is not a view or a thing to seek, [but] reality itself, [if] one does not hold a view of the goal or seek<sup>998</sup> it, one is not deluded. Whoever seeks for great bliss is deluded.

The yogi who practices emptiness and becomes attached<sup>999</sup> to it will be destroyed.

[This] is concluded.

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<sup>997</sup> Consult the edition of this text for more information about its somewhat dubious identity.

<sup>998</sup> Since one syllable of the text is illegible here, I have supplied the word *tshol*.

<sup>999</sup> Tentative translation, amending *lcags* to *chags*.

## ***Soft Bliss***

(*bDe 'jams*)

In the Indian language: Mañjusukha. In Tibetan: *bDe 'byams*. [In English: Pervasive Bliss<sup>1000</sup>]

Homage to the Blessed one, the Vajra Great Bliss!

Indivisible, in the vagina [of] suffering,<sup>1001</sup> from the Queen of Space,<sup>1002</sup> soft bliss, the great expanse [of the] spontaneously perfect *bindu*<sup>1003</sup> has never stirred. [It is] a primordial precious gem. The great *bindu* is spontaneously perfect in non-action.

The indivisible Great Self<sup>1004</sup> obstructs nothing at all. [Whoever] experiences the expanse of the ultimate truth, everything [that] shines forth unimpeded from the non-produced expanse without union or separation in the three times, [is] a great courageous being.

The expanse of direct perception is not something to accomplish through a cause,<sup>1005</sup> [but] is primordially present; an unsought evocation. Because there is nothing to aspire to, everything is perfect in oneself. Because one has no conceptual designations, one is master of the Great Yoga.<sup>1006</sup>

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<sup>1000</sup> TK corrects this to '*jam* to agree with the Sanskrit, but I consider the Sanskrit title to be less reliable than the multiple witnesses to the spelling '*byams*.

<sup>1001</sup> Dg and Tk omit “suffering” (*sdug bsngal*), and KSG changes the word order to *sdug bsngal dbyings phyug*. Whichever reading is adopted, the meaning of this line remains obtuse, and my translation is tentative.

<sup>1002</sup> *Dhātviśvarī* in Sanskrit.

<sup>1003</sup> *Thig le* in Tibetan.

<sup>1004</sup> “Great Self” (*bDag nyid che*) refers not to a reified personal identity (*ātman*), but to an expanded self-awareness that encompasses all beings.

<sup>1005</sup> This may refer to the causal *samādhi*, the second of the three *samādhis* of Mahāyoga.

<sup>1006</sup> Dg and KSG omit “great” (*chen po*) here.

Because there are no levels [of attainment], it is the expanse of all [spiritual] views.<sup>1007</sup>  
Every action that is taken to tame [beings] [is] the very display<sup>1008</sup> [of the ultimate],  
uncorrupted, extreme bliss, because the *bindu* itself has nothing to renounce.

The basic [negative emotions] of attachment, aversion and ignorance, are not to be  
renounced, either, [in this] path of great *bodhicitta*. The inconceivable luminosity [of]  
primordial wisdom, since it has no divisions, is the expanse of the pure<sup>1009</sup>  
[Dharma]dhātu.

Since it has no forms it is the body of the enlightened-essence. Since it pacifies  
conceptual thoughts it is extraordinary, primordial great wisdom. [This] primordial, non-  
produced accomplishment<sup>1010</sup>, since it is deathless, is the expanse of nectar.

In the samaya of the primordially luminous *bindu* there is nothing that can be called a  
vow.<sup>1011</sup> The single sunrise of the wisdom mind is warmer than a thousand suns that rise  
from the peak of Mount Meru.

All the rays of light arise in oneself<sup>1012</sup> – in that very arising there is no waning, in the  
three times. [This] non-abiding, non-referential luminosity is blissful, since non-  
meditation itself is nothing to meditate on.

Moreover, primordially-unmeditated natural luminosity, the victor's Dharma, will not be  
found by meditating [or] from another. The vajra sun that rises from the [Dharma]dhātu  
illuminates all and everything in the state of Suchness.

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<sup>1007</sup> Once *lta ba* has been jettisoned, as Dg /KSG do, the reading that is left in Dg, *kun gyi dbyings*, becomes  
odd - which perhaps indicates that the KSG reading *chos kyi dbyings postdates* Dg.

<sup>1008</sup> In Tibetan, *rol pa*.

<sup>1009</sup> Tb's reading *bdag po'i klong* is surely corrupt but Dg /KSG merely omit it. I am provisionally following  
Tk's reading of *dag pa'i*

<sup>1010</sup> In Tibetan, *dngos grub*, and in Sanskrit, *siddhi*.

<sup>1011</sup> This line contains two words both commonly translated as “samaya”: *dam tshig* and *tha' tshig*. The  
latter however has more the sense of “vow” or oath.”

<sup>1012</sup> Dg /KSG omit this line

Since it is unchangeable, the View<sup>1013</sup> is like<sup>1014</sup> black wool, [whereas] compassion, because it can be altered to anything, is like white wool. When one investigates, everything is [like] black wool, the expanse of reality itself. The View [of] spontaneous presence cuts through levels [of attainment].<sup>1015</sup>

Because it is pure from the beginning it is like the<sup>1016</sup> lotus of [wordly] existence. Because it is immutable, [it is] bliss in the expanse of the *bindu*.<sup>1017</sup> Because there are no actions [to be done] everything pervades<sup>1018</sup> everything [else].<sup>1019</sup> Because the three times are non-existent, the *bindu* is already [all-] pervading.<sup>1020</sup>

The expanse of the ultimate truth is not disturbed by the thought of seeking for [its] not-to-be-sought-for primordial essence.<sup>1021</sup> Because it [is] actually a lattice,<sup>1022</sup> the circumference in every direction<sup>1023</sup> [is] bliss.<sup>1024</sup> Through the *bindu* itself, nine small *bindus* are blissful.<sup>1025</sup>

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<sup>1013</sup> The "View" here, as in general in these texts, refers to the supreme View of rDzogs chen. Dg /KSG omit "the view", so would read "As it is immutable, it is..."

<sup>1014</sup> Dg /KSG read *bzhin* where the other versions have *ste*.

<sup>1015</sup> Dg /KSG omit "of view" (*lta ba'i*) here.

<sup>1016</sup> Dg /KSG omit *srid pa'i* - "cosmic" or "of the world".

<sup>1017</sup> Dg /KSG read *thig le bde* "it is a /the blissful *bindu*". They repeat this phrase at the end of several subsequent lines.

<sup>1018</sup> A tentative translation of 'jam.

<sup>1019</sup> Dg /KSG read "because there are no actions [to be done] it is a /the blissful *bindu*".

<sup>1020</sup> Tk reads: 'jam here: "The *bindu* is relaxed /soft already", whereas Dg /KSG avoid the difficulty by repeating *thig le bde* again.

<sup>1021</sup> Dg /KSG read: "Because it is not to be sought for, it is a blissful *bindu*. Asserting that it is to be sought for (?) does not bring about the expanse."

<sup>1022</sup> Tentative translation of *dra ba nyid pas*.

<sup>1023</sup> Literally, in ten directions.

<sup>1024</sup> Tb: *dra ba nyid pas* is difficult to construe. Dg has "Because there is no network there is no circumference /environment". KSG departs even further from Tb in the first phrase, which is unfortunately hardly easier to translate: *rgya ba nyid rabs* (? or *ra bas*?) *mu khyud bde*.

<sup>1025</sup> This sentence is difficult to translate. Dg has: "because there is no *bindu* [there are?] blissful small *bindus*" (*thig le med pas thig phran bde*) The KSG reading *thig phan bde* is surely a corruption of *thig phran bde*.

When one realizes<sup>1026</sup> the victorious summit,<sup>1027</sup> it is the blissful sacred place of accomplishment. The *bindu* [is] the primordially blissful *vajradhātu*.<sup>1028</sup> Indivisible with the unobstructed, totally purified vagina,<sup>1029</sup> the spontaneously-perfect *bindu* [is] the great expanse itself.

The [enlightened] body, speech and mind arise [in this] lattice-maṇḍala of bliss.<sup>1030</sup> Since it is totally pure [it is] the blissful body of enlightenment.<sup>1031</sup> In [this] great path of [all] beings, the pure expanse, the *bindu* [is] the primordially blissful vajradhātu.

The vajra sun is without union or separation in the three times. Therefore all the *bindus*, since they have already pervaded the *vajradhātu*, never unite with or separate [from it] in the three times,<sup>1032</sup> because *bodhicitta* shines forth primordially.

[This] concludes Soft Bliss, the Great Maṇḍala of Space.

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<sup>1026</sup> Although I have adhered to the reading *rtogs na* ("when [one] realizes") here, if this were amended to read *thog na* (assuming this to be equivalent to *thog tu*, "at the immediate moment of") it would perhaps be more intelligible.

<sup>1027</sup> Note that the phrase *rtse rgyal* here also occurs in the title of the *rTse mo byung rgyal*.

<sup>1028</sup> Dg omits this line here, although it includes it (minus "blissful") a few lines later, where it is also repeated by the other versions.

<sup>1029</sup> KSG omits this and the previous line.

<sup>1030</sup> Dg /KSG omit '*khor bde*, and so read: "...rise; the circumference [and] centre (?)".

<sup>1031</sup> Dg /KSG omit "blissful".

<sup>1032</sup> Dg /KSG avoid the repetition of '*du 'bral* seen here in Tb /Tk: "In the all-pervasiveness there is no waning" (*nub pa med*).

## *The Wheel of Life*

(*Srog gi 'khor lo*)

In the Indian language: a yo tsa kra. In Tibetan: *Srog gi 'khor lo*. [In English: the Wheel of Life]<sup>1033</sup>.

Homage to the most glorious blessed one of all, who perfectly benefits beings through the method of his compassion, the blissful state of omniscience, the Dharmadhātu nature of body, speech and mind, this bodhicitta wheel of life, the treasure that comprises (fundamental) equality.

Uniting [ordinary] body, speech and mind and the [buddha] body, speech and mind, the Victors' great secret that reverses Saṃsāra, [is] the *samaya* chain<sup>1034</sup> that transcends suffering. Because the Dharmadhātu is the great treasure of all yogins, the great mind-treasure of the oral transmission has been set forth as a never-failing, universal heritage for fortunate recipients.

Through this essence condensed from the [Buddha] body, speech and mind, the Dharmadhātu body, speech and mind of the victors of the three times, the treasure of all beneficial pith instructions [on] equality, let the heart-maṇḍala spacioously shine forth to those heart-sons who will represent<sup>1035</sup> the fortunate, powerful lord<sup>1036</sup> who has direct perception of his own awareness.<sup>1037</sup>

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<sup>1033</sup> “Wheel” (*'khor lo*) also sometimes translates the Sanskrit term *cakra*.

<sup>1034</sup> This phrase, *dam tshig lu gu rgyud*, also occurs in one of the 17 tantras of *man ngag sde*, the *seng ge rtsal rdzogs chen po'i rgyud*, (In *rNying-ma'i rgyud bcu-bdun*, Adzom chos sgar redaction, p. 337), where it refers to the sexual fluid of the male Vajrayāna practitioner, and predicts negative consequences if he breaks the commitment to retain this: *rdo rje'i dam tshig lu gu rgyud/ rtag tu de dang mi 'bral bar/ de las ldog cing 'khu ba ni/rang la rang gis mtshon btab nas/rang srog tshe rabs lnga brgya'i bar/rang gis gcod cing phung bar 'gyur/tshe 'dir mi bde sna tshogs pa/mi 'dod bzhin du 'byung bar 'gyur*.

<sup>1035</sup> Following mTsham brag /KSG's reading of *rjes 'tshob*. Dg has *sob*, Tk *'tsho ba*, neither of which are convincing.

<sup>1036</sup> The commentary implies that this refers to dGa' rab rdo rje (p. 242. 2-3).

<sup>1037</sup> My tentative translation here assumes that the phrase *tshad ma rang rig* [*dbang phyug*] is equivalent to *rang rig mngon sum tshad ma* [*i'dbang phyug*].



The self does not dwell in the unborn Dharmadhātu, [nor] in Nirvāṇa; unborn and unceasing, it neither rejects nor accepts Saṃsāra. The mind of the victorious ones has no "I", [and is] free from a self. The precious gathered treasure, the limitless yoga of the secret essence, the utterance of the victors, is inexhaustible.

Remaining in the state of the sky without rejecting or accomplishing anything, if one examines the three realms, neither Saṃsāra nor Nirvāṇa exists. If one becomes stuck on a partial aspect, it is not the enlightened essence.<sup>1038</sup> The universal nature, like a rainbow, is non-existent. In this regard, while non-existent, it is like an ocean.

The expanse of the mother, the unborn Dharmadhātu, the mudrā of the victors with the magical display of arisal, emerges as impartial compassion in all the worlds in order to establish<sup>1039</sup> Saṃsāra in Nirvāṇa, despite never stirring from the expanse of self-arising wisdom.

Without an "I", free from a self, the perfect essence, the ultimate truth, this expanse of wisdom [is] Great Perfection. [Its] essence is like the sun: the supreme light.

<sup>1040</sup> Living beings and all inner and outer forms perfected in the wheel that adorns the inexhaustible supreme [buddha] body. All sounds and speech, whether superior, middling or inferior, are without exception, perfected in the wheel that adorns the inexhaustible supreme [buddha] speech. One taste, indivisible from the expanse of the ultimate truth, is perfected in the wheel that adorns the inexhaustible supreme [buddha] mind.

Because everything is indivisibly the [buddha] body, speech, and mind, it is like the ocean of the unborn, vast space of the sky.

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<sup>1038</sup> My translation of this line is provisional, and follows sDe dge /KSG. The mTshams brag /gTing skyes version has: "The play [?] of the rising of [even] a partial aspect is the enlightened essence." The commentary and sDe dge have several variant readings, and both end the line with "is not the enlightened essence" (*bde gshegs snying po min*). This reading is supported by the bSam gtan mig sgron citation of this passage (STMG fol. 292. 5-6).

<sup>1039</sup> Following KSG reading of 'god rather than the others' *dgod* ("laugh").

<sup>1040</sup> It is from this point that the VGB text is extant. Given this fact, it is perhaps significant that the number of difficult, possibly corrupt readings is notably fewer from this point on in all witnesses.

In the infinite, supreme expanse that is beyond union or separation, the countless marvels of the four great [elements],<sup>1041</sup> whether one analyses or<sup>1042</sup> realizes it, are [all] included as the elements' fruition.<sup>1043</sup>

Because this nectar, the great, deathless medicine, is primordially perfect, there is, from the beginning, no need to search for it. Everything is equal in the state of the single cause, the Dharmadhātu. It does not come from elsewhere, nor can it possibly go anywhere.

The nature of everything shines forth as *bodhicitta*. Phenomenal existence, the nature of [skilful] method, is the victor, the male [consort]. Its lack of ultimate nature is the expanse of the female [consort]. There is nothing that is not included in [these which are] endowed with skilful means and wisdom.

In the nature that combines [skilful] method and wisdom [is] the inconceivable mudrā of the [buddha] body, speech and mind. The Dharmadhātu, the single cause, shines out everywhere [in its] nature, [and] includes everything within the state of the two aspects of *bodhicitta*.

Just as in the great sea of the vast expanse of the sky, totally pure, the multitude of constellations is inconceivable, so is the sky-like mind of the great, powerful lord. The ocean of [positive] qualities is the state of all the Buddhas.

Without self and impartial, [it is] the Dharmadhātu [which is the] guide of all sentient beings equal to sky, and establishes<sup>1044</sup> them in the expanse of enlightenment. As important as the Tripiṭaka and the Tantras, it is perfect in the [buddha] mind. [Everything], high and low, in every direction, is endowed with *bodhicitta*. The Dharmadhātu is without stain, like the lustrous ocean.

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<sup>1041</sup> The commentary here mentions *sa la sogs pa*, so this presumably refers to the "four elements" of earth, water, fire and wind.

<sup>1042</sup> Following the majority reading of *brtags sam* rather than KSG's *brtags pa*

<sup>1043</sup> The commentary explains that the elements are the fruition /result of enlightenment. (fol 259.4)

<sup>1044</sup> Adopting the Dg /KSG reading 'god, rather than the others' *dgod*. Cf. note 10 above.

The powerful master of his own awareness, rDo rje legs rtsal<sup>1045</sup> drew forth this wheel of Dharma that includes the life [force] of all great, powerful lords without equal in the three realms. [He uttered this] precept<sup>1046</sup> of non-duality called "The Wheel of Life" for the benefit of all yogic practitioners, from his [wisdom] mind. It should be dedicated to all beings.

[This] concludes the Wheel of Life.

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<sup>1045</sup> According to Kapstein (2008, p. 280 n.15) rDo rje legs brtsal is named in Kong sprul's *gDam ngag mdzod* vol.13, 702.6, in a list of early Indian rDzogs chen teachers between dGa' rab rDo rje and Śrī Siṃha and Vairocana.

<sup>1046</sup> In Tibetan, *man ngag*.

## *The Six Spheres*

(*Thig le drug pa*)

(Chapter 3 of the *rDzogs pa chen po chos nyid byang chub kyi sems thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa'i rgyud*.)

Then all the Buddhas praised [this] and conferred empowerment in all directions, [each] teaching their own secret mantra, uniting infinite Buddha-realms in the supreme maṇḍala, and dispelling the mesh of conceptual thought, the waves of Saṃsāra. Samantabhadra, lord of the maṇḍala of [all] the Buddha-families, gazed in every direction and considered, then [spoke] in the naturally secret unexcelled manner:<sup>1047</sup>

"[This] is the non-dual meditation on the totally pure, natural mind of enlightenment, the teacher whom all praise as the light of the world, the teaching that is the essence of the Dharma, the embodiment of youthful Mañjuśrī: [one] rests in equanimity in the authentic, uncontrived blissful expanse in which nothing need be done.

Although the many aspects of ethical discipline, and so forth, which form the basis of immeasurable activity<sup>1048</sup> are explained as the path, they would not arise if the path that is the mother<sup>1049</sup> of the Sugatas and is equal to all [of them] were not present. Therefore this is the path of the supreme yoga.

Hard to travel and to understand, this is the path of all [beings] that transcends both thought [and] non-thought. Non-abiding, non-conceptual, simple and free of thinking, words do not express it. Without shape or colour, it is not the domain of the senses.

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<sup>1047</sup> This opening passage is a necessary part of the chapter structure of the larger text, but the passage that follows may once have circulated independently before being incorporated into it.

<sup>1048</sup> Literally, "the ocean of conduct."

<sup>1049</sup> The Tk reading *yul* (rather than *yum*) translates as "the object /goal of the Sugatas".

Difficult to demonstrate<sup>1050</sup> or examine, it is without even a trace of anything that can be put into words.

It is not the path of accomplished sages of the past. Whoever enters onto the path of the sages of the past will end up gripped by the sicknesses of the path - meditation, attachment, and exertion.

As [is taught] in the statements of the teacher(s), if one views limited verbal analysis<sup>1051</sup> as the path, that is actually [just] a continuation [of] the process of conceptual thought, like an animal pursuing a mirage. The ineffable path of total purity cannot be defined by words. Teaching [about] purity and impurity is actually just deluded words. Pure and impure are integral, non-dual, and indivisibly equal. Therefore, [this is] the way without the perception of duality [such as] renouncing and adopting, negating and affirming.

Making no differentiation whatsoever between any aspects, primordial wisdom is a continuum with ignorance. [Just as] a lamp that casts its light without any obstruction is free of all thoughts, the unwavering state presides supreme over [both] dullness and meditative concentration. The very act of seeing [that] there is nothing<sup>1052</sup> to really see is itself the goal to be attained. This is why this is called "the eye of omniscience".

Thus this state of rest transcends the objects of the six senses. This natural spaciousness has no limits or centre, and rests as the sovereign of equality that neither accepts nor rejects. Mind and karmic imprints are not dual, [but] are mixed and equivalent. Because subjective conceptions and phenomena appear as one's own adornment<sup>1053</sup>, one should not reject or renounce them. Not thinking about any [specific] aspects whatsoever, one enjoys the bliss<sup>1054</sup> of [skilful] means.

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<sup>1050</sup> Amending the reading *brtan* to *bstan*, in accord with the elaboration on this passage on fol. 58b

<sup>1051</sup> Amending *mtha' spyod* to *mtha' dpyod*.

<sup>1052</sup> Amending *mithong bas* to *mithong med*, in agreement with the commentary on this passage on fol. 60a.

<sup>1053</sup> If the alternative reading is adopted, "appear through [their?] own conditions"

<sup>1054</sup> Amending the phrase *thabs kyi de la rol* to *thabs kyi bde la rol*.

Due to the purity of [even] things that are disagreeable to all, and [normally] completely renounced, the five disturbing emotions and the five inexpressible actions have no actual substance. By entering this path of total purity one attains [the state] of the sovereign of equality.

Mental formations and so on are all not renounced, adopted or rejected. To place [reliance] on past narratives, information and valid cognition, and then wish for the signs of accomplishment of the three meditative *samādhis*, and so on<sup>1055</sup>, goes against the statements regarding effortlessness, and is a delusion.

To rest without anything that needs to be done in the blissful domain of spontaneous perfection is the very essence of total self-arising primordial wisdom, unwavering, immutable, and free of all narratives.

The nectar that is [already] attained conquers the suffering of effort; one rests without the need to do anything in the state of total authenticity. The unaltered state is free of all the limitations of conceptualizing thoughts, [and] its unimpeded qualities are forever undiminished. Without renouncing [them], shortcomings and mental objects are pure. Everywhere, inner and outer, is the unobscured *locus* of great, primordial wisdom.

Buddha Samantabhadra, who transcends the limitations of effort and accomplishment, naturally manifests the tantras<sup>1056</sup> of the<sup>1057</sup> pristine, primordial array of spontaneously present dharmas. [All] dharmas are without elaboration in the great sphere<sup>1058</sup>; they are of the nature of *bodhicitta*, [and that] nature clearly manifests its essence [and] all objects.<sup>1059</sup>

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<sup>1055</sup> Adopting the Tk reading *sogs* rather than *tshogs* here.

<sup>1056</sup> Alternatively, “the continuity”.

<sup>1057</sup> The reading here (*de dag de rgyud*) appears corrupt, and I have amended it to *de dag gi rgyud*, in order to offer a tentative translation.

<sup>1058</sup> In Tibetan, *thig le chen po*.

<sup>1059</sup> My translation of this terse passage is tentative. Like other *Sems sde* works, it reverses the order, that would become standard in rDzogs chen doctrines, of the first two aspects of the triad of *ngo bo*, *rang bzhin*, [*thugs rje*].

They are, through their natural condition, free from creeds [that postulate] a universal creator and creation<sup>1060</sup>, and constructed [concepts] of birth and cessation; they are the embodiment of primordial wisdom that transcends conventional terms of subject and object, and all conceptual thought."

[So] he spoke. [This concludes] the third chapter, which establishes the meaning of the ultimate reality, of the Tantra that Enters into the Ocean-like State of the Essential Sphere of *Bodhicitta* , [which is] the True Nature of Reality that is Great Perfection.

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<sup>1060</sup> Provisional translation of the phrase *thams cad byed dang bya'i chos rgyud*.

## ***Universally Definitive Perfection***

*(rDzogs pa spyi gcod)*

Homage to the Blessed one, the great blissful expanse of perfection!<sup>1061</sup>

The mind of enlightenment is Samantabhadra.<sup>1062</sup> Since there is no self and other from the beginning<sup>1063</sup> in the spontaneously-perfect state itself, there is no birth or death; there are no transient phenomena.<sup>1064</sup>

The great, pure<sup>1065</sup> nectar, too,<sup>1066</sup> the immutable luminosity, is like gold.<sup>1067</sup> After it has secured<sup>1068</sup> each and every virtue and vice,[it] has also secured complete and total liberation. Ha!<sup>1069</sup>

Whoever does not see [it] in this way pursues meaningless sounds, and because of his attachment towards both virtue and vice, goes along blindly without an aim. Ha!

Whitening does not produce a whiter sun, nor does blackening make darkness blacker.<sup>1070</sup>

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<sup>1061</sup> The KSG commentary here includes a phrase that is probably a transliteration of Sanskrit: *sa 'di tra ta ya na*. This is difficult, but my tentative translation is: "Homage to the blessed one, the tantric [ *tra ta* = tantra?] vehicle of perfection [*sa 'di* = sandhi?]."

<sup>1062</sup> The mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) may signify seminal fluid here, in addition to its general Mahāyāna range of associations.

<sup>1063</sup> Amending (*bdag dang gzhan*) *don gnas med pas to gdod nas med pas*.

<sup>1064</sup> This line has two syllables in excess, but they do not affect the meaning. The KSG version reads "there is no time of change or of death (*'chi 'pho 'gyur ba'i dus med do*).

<sup>1065</sup> Amending *dag pas to dag pa'i*.

<sup>1066</sup> KSG omits this line without comment.

<sup>1067</sup> KSG has "the immutable steadiness is like gold."

<sup>1068</sup> Literally, "bound" (*bcings*). The term may have a special technical sense here. In Mahāyoga one is said to "bind" the subtle winds (*rlung*) into the central channel (*rtsa dbu ma*) during Perfection Stage practice.

<sup>1069</sup> "Ha" may simply denote laughter. However, according to Taranatha, in the tantric practice of Union the action of 'ha' stabilizes the pristine awareness of joy, and draws up the vital essence. See summary in Guarisco and McLeod, 2008, p. 401 n. 70.

<sup>1070</sup> This translation is provisional. It possibly echoes the saying attributed by Tibetan tradition to Hwashang Mahāyāna, also in the context of virtuous and negative actions, that it makes no difference whether clouds are black or white - they still both block the sun.



In the sphere of peaceful<sup>1071</sup> luminosity even tutelary deities are non-existent, since it is limitlessly, all-pervasively present.<sup>1072</sup> Everything is a singularity.

In [this] sky-like identity<sup>1073</sup> there are no sentient beings<sup>1074</sup> or buddhas. There is no awareness or abiding<sup>1075</sup>, no decrease or increase.

Since the sphere of the three times [is] blissful,<sup>1076</sup> whoever [it] does not benefit, it does not harm. In the totally pure essence, direct perception is spontaneously accomplished. Ha!<sup>1077</sup>

[In this] invisible immutability, because it transcends [both] wisdom and method, there is no path and no enlightenment; [and yet] the non-existing essence shines forth.<sup>1078</sup> Ha!

Whoever has confidence in the meaning of this realization and conduct, uttered for the sake of any suitable person, however they may act, it will be productive.<sup>1079 1080</sup>

[Whoever] wishes their own awareness to develop<sup>1081</sup> should bear this authentic, definitive statement in their mental expanse, [and] not diffuse it to ordinary beings.

[This] concludes "Universally Definitive Perfection".

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<sup>1071</sup> Amending *zhi bas* to *zhi ba'i*. This may possibly be a reference to the (42) peaceful deities of the *Zhi khro* maṇḍala.

<sup>1072</sup> KSG omits this line (*mu med brdal bar gnas pa'i phyir*) without comment.

<sup>1073</sup> KSG omits this line without comment.

<sup>1074</sup> KSG: "There are no [beings of] the six realms..." (*rgyud drug*).

<sup>1075</sup> Adopting the KSG reading (*rig pa med cing gnas pa med*) as it appears more intelligible than the repetition of *sang rgyas* in this line.

<sup>1076</sup> KSG omits this line, although the commentary does have a reference to *thig le chen po* here.

<sup>1077</sup> KSG omits this and the preceding line without comment.

<sup>1078</sup> KSG "there is no non-existence - [this is] the essential meaning" (*med pa med de snying po'i don*). This is perhaps more in line with the Madhyamaka notion of the Emptiness of Emptiness itself.

<sup>1079</sup> Literally "a flower will grow" (*me tog skye*). The KSG commentary explains this as meaning that it will be fruitful. The VGB reading "non-realization will arise" (*mi rtogs skye*) is possibly an error of oral transmission.

<sup>1080</sup> From this point the KSG commentary quotes no further text found in mTshams brag /Tk /VGB. Its last quotation (from an unknown source) reads "May this, a young monk's conjured-up advice, at some point realize the meaning of [the] tantra."

<sup>1081</sup> "Develop" is my tentative translation of the phrase *klong /klung du khrol*.

## ***The Wish-fulfilling Jewel***

(*Khams gsum sgron ma /Yid bzhin nor bu*)<sup>1082</sup>

### **mTshams brag /gTing skyes version<sup>1083</sup>**

Homage to the Blessed one, glorious Samantabhadra!

The precious wish-fulfilling jewel that transcends the three realms, that teaches the path of complete liberation that does not need to be trodden, will not be found by seeking it from another, since the great sphere dwells in and pervades everything.

Self-originated wisdom, the natural clear light, great bliss<sup>1084</sup>, that is not to be sought, is the essential meaning.

That which brings about phenomena is always<sup>1085</sup>, All Good (Samantabhadra)<sup>1086</sup>.

The non-dual state of bliss is spontaneously accomplished. Arising in the expanse of great changelessness, the enjoyment of great bliss is perfection. Since it transcends all conceptual analysis, is the experiential domain of great sages<sup>1087</sup>.

Knowing that everything is the maṇḍala of [enlightened] body, speech and mind, one rests in equipoise in the expanse of [this] realization.<sup>1088</sup> Afterwards, when the particular

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<sup>1082</sup> I give two titles here since I believe the *Khams gsum sgron ma* to be the same text as the *Yid bzhin nor bu*.

<sup>1083</sup> This is also found as chapter 10 of Tb. 41, entitled “the chapter on the wish-fulfilling jewel” (*yid bzhin nor bu 'i le 'u*).

<sup>1084</sup> The KSG here has “is not to be sought through effort” (*rtsol bas btsal du med*), and thus omits the reference to great bliss.

<sup>1085</sup> The metaphor (*dpe*) of the wish-fulfilling jewel, together with the clear light of great bliss that is the essential meaning (*don*), may here be joined by the third element of traditional exegesis, the expression or indication (*rtags*), in this case phenomena /Samantabhadra. But this would require amending *rtag* (always) to *rtags*.

<sup>1086</sup> There is an echo of a line from the *Rig pa'i khu byug* here (*rnam par snang mdzad kun tu bzang*), more closely followed in KSG.

<sup>1087</sup> The KSG version here translates as: “Great bliss, perfect enjoyment [...omits line] [is] the experiential domain of great yogins [is]”. The fact that both lines end with the pointer “ni” renders the KSG version less correct.

aspects of accomplishment become manifest, all of the Three Realms will also bow down at one's feet.

[This] concludes the Mind of Enlightenment, the Lamp of the Three Realms.

### **sDe dge version<sup>1089</sup>**

In the Indian language: Trailokyapratibha<sup>1090</sup>. In Tibetan: *Khams gsum sgron ma*. [In English: the Lamp of the Three Realms].

Homage to the purity<sup>1091</sup> of the empty Dharmadhātu!

The Lamp of the Three Realms, [which is] free from conditions and dispels the darkness of ignorance, [and which is] untouched by the [intellectual] mind, will not be found by seeking it from elsewhere.

Self-generated bliss that pervades the [essential] sphere<sup>1092</sup>, [is] the naturally arising [pristine] awareness that needs no alteration. Spontaneous accomplishment has nothing to seek, from the beginning.

The supreme, non-dual quintessence is primordially free from all conceptual limitations. There are no concepts in the clarity of [the state of] Suchness. The immaculate, non-conceptual expanse of the ultimate truth, since it is not something to search for, transcends the term "meditation".

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<sup>1088</sup> The text here reads *rtog pa'i klong*, "the expanse of concepts" or "expanse of thoughts", but *rtog pa* is a frequent misspelling of *rtogs pa*, "realization", and I have amended the text accordingly.

<sup>1089</sup> This is also found as chapter 14 of Tb. 41, entitled "the chapter on the lamp of the three realms" (*khams gsum sgron ma'i le'u*).

<sup>1090</sup> In correct Sanskrit this would be *trailokyapradīpa*.

<sup>1091</sup> The text is unclear here.

<sup>1092</sup> In Tibetan, *thig le*.

Because one finds oneself in the expanse of Suchness, one is learned in the totally pure meaning. Realization of the ultimate meaning [of] the primordially uncreated, pervasive<sup>1093</sup> expanse is the Dharmakāya.

The Sambhogakāya is the body<sup>1094</sup> of the sovereign of great bliss. The display of primordial wisdom is the Nirmāṇakāya.

Compassion [is] the path of the bodhisattva. The path of the teaching of non-distraction and non-conceptuality [is] the naturally-dwelling palace of bliss.

Great bliss [which is] the supreme lamp that dispels the darkness of the three realms, shines forth as self-arising compassionate energy.

[This] concludes The Lamp of the Three Realms.

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<sup>1093</sup> Following the reading of Tb 41 (*gdal*) and Dg 123 (*brdal*) rather than this Dg vol Ra *gsal* here, which would translate as "the primordially uncreated expanse of luminosity". *Klong brdal* is a recurrent term in other texts among the Thirteen Later Translations.

<sup>1094</sup> The term "enjoyment body" (*sambhogakāya*) is here split between the beginning and end of the line. In order to keep the meaning intact, I have had to add the word "body" in the translation.

## ***All-inclusiveness***

(*Kun 'dus*)<sup>1095</sup>

### **Tb /Tk /KSG version**

In the Indian language, *Sa rba a ta*<sup>1096</sup>. In Tibetan, *Kun 'dus*. [In English, All-inclusiveness.]

Homage to the Blessed one, [who is] the state of bliss [in which] there is nothing that need be done.

Because the Dharmakāya, from the beginning, completely transcends<sup>1097</sup> the sphere of conceptual abstraction as [being] a [spiritual] retreat, the extremes of existence, non-existence [and] emptiness are one in the [Dharma]dhātu. Although in the single expanse many<sup>1098</sup> distinctions of view appear<sup>1099</sup>, a mind that wishes for [and] strives towards appearance [creates] the malady of suffering.

From the nature that dwells in the state of the Dharmadhātu, great compassion that is as pervasive as the sky splendidly fulfils all wishes in the display of skilful means.

The diversity of things, all conventionally-designated objects that appear from the state of Suchness, is the supreme path of *bodhicitta*. Once one has certain knowledge of the supreme *bodhicitta* essence, where is there any dualistic objective to reach?

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<sup>1095</sup> Variants of the title include “*The all-inclusive jewel of bodhicitta*” (*byang chub sems rin chen /rin po che kun 'dus*), and Assembly of all Bindus (*Thig le kun 'dus*). The STMG calls it *Rin po che* or *Rin chen kun 'dus*. All citations attributed just to *Kun 'dus* in the STMG are from a different text, probably the *Kun 'dus rig pa*.

<sup>1096</sup> I am unsure what this could be in correct Sanskrit.

<sup>1097</sup> KSG adds “...Samsāric (conceptual thoughts)”.

<sup>1098</sup> Literally, nine

<sup>1099</sup> The line in Tb /TK has too many syllables (11 instead of 9) and is probably corrupt.

Conceptions should indeed be regarded as mere designations, but not even an atom of any vowed object exists. When it is clearly evident that no vowed object exists, even if [one] has a vow there is no fault<sup>1100</sup>, like the sky.

The yogin who shines forth in the expanse of primordial wisdom, who spontaneously accomplishes every kind of wish in the great method [of] compassion that fulfills every desire, does not accomplish this supreme level - it is spontaneously accomplished.

This Great Vehicle that is like the sun rising in the sky eliminates all latent faults without exception, because the clear light of primordial wisdom arises in oneself, and primordially illumines darkness to the utmost limits.

Since there is no basis for holding onto an object of meditation, bliss that is attached to meditation is the suffering of fixating on a "self"<sup>1101</sup>. If one has mastery over one's awareness that is not the object of meditation<sup>1102</sup>, even if one meditates, there is no fault [because] everything is the expanse of the sky.<sup>1103</sup>

Without using anything, it fulfils<sup>1104</sup> the wishes of all [beings]. The great treasure of the precept of equality<sup>1105</sup> pervades all and perfects everything in oneself.<sup>1106</sup> In it, there is no fixation on gradual stages or parts.

The way of being<sup>1107</sup> [of] primordial great nectar is not accomplished by seeking it from another, and, in regard to its transformation into the unsought-for, spontaneously-accomplished expanse, the path of *bodhicitta* is greater in all aspects.

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<sup>1100</sup> Adopting the KSG and STMG reading *skyon* here - "there is no fault, like the sky".

<sup>1101</sup> Adopting the KSG reading of this line, (*bsgom chags bde ba bdag 'dzin sdug bsngal yin*) as it seems that the line in Tb /Tk is corrupt.

<sup>1102</sup> The KSG version of this line replaces the phrase *rig pa rang dbang* with: *dag tu rab rtogs na*- "if one purely and fully realizes".

<sup>1103</sup> KSG reading: "[because] the Dharmadhātu is like the sky"

<sup>1104</sup> Adopting the Tk /KSG reading *skong*, "fulfills" rather than the Tb reading (*kun gyi re ba*) *klong*, "the space of the hopes of all".

<sup>1105</sup> KSG reading: "those Mahāyānists who realise the state of equality".

<sup>1106</sup> KSG: " (pervades all) and there is not a (single) dharma that is not perfect".

<sup>1107</sup> My translation of *yin pa la* is provisional.

In the primordial purity of all thoughts and deeds, there is absolutely no delusion, non-delusion, or transgression. All-inclusive but nowhere apparent, the mind of the victors of the three times shines forth from it.

The All-inclusive Mind of Enlightenment is concluded.

### **sDe dge version**

In the Indian language: Sa rba a ta. In Tibetan, *Kun 'dus*. [In English, All-inclusiveness].

Homage to the Dharma that is without [conceptual] elaboration.

The state in which diversity is included as one gathers the four elements themselves in the sky. The sky is taught as a metaphor for *bodhicitta* ; because pristine awareness is perfect in oneself, [that] self<sup>1108</sup>, the all-inclusive sovereign<sup>1109</sup>, uttered [this].

In<sup>1110</sup> the great<sup>1111</sup> expanse of the View of Ati [yoga], after expressing the meaning of each of the eight [other] vehicles, [their] accomplishments are definitively included in one: to rest [in the state] without mental distraction or utterance.

All the buddhas are included in the mind. This nature of the mind, which is without origin, was not created by anyone - it is primordially present. The immutable, spontaneously accomplished, totally pure Dharmatā [is] the expanse of space.<sup>1112</sup>

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<sup>1108</sup> Following the reading in Dg 123 /Tb 41 (*rang smra'o*) rather than Dg Vol. Ra (*rab smras so*), which is a weaker logical outcome after *rang la rdzogs pas na* in the previous line.

<sup>1109</sup> Literally, “king”.

<sup>1110</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 have *las* rather than *la*

<sup>1111</sup> Following Dg 123 /Tb 41 reading *chen* rather than Dg vol. Ra *tshog*.

<sup>1112</sup> Following Dg 123 reading (*klong*) here rather than Dg vol. Ra (and Tb 41) which read: (*dbyings kyī bla*).

The mind<sup>1113</sup> does not depend on a cause. [In] the path<sup>1114</sup> of great bliss that is free from inclusion or separation, since the result is [already] perfect in oneself, all that appears and exists is primordially enlightened.

Freedom from a self that cuts through Samsāra, the resplendent three bodies of enlightenment, self-arising bliss, [and] all the buddhas are one in the expanse; through [skilful] method they are included in unborn reality.

Because one enters into the state free from conceptual elaboration, the [skilful] method of compassion tames everything. This precious jewel is not owned by any single [person]. Because it extinguishes fixation on subject and object, it is the sovereign of equality.

The display of primordial wisdom shines forth as one. The beings of the six realms who kill without compassion, and eat without the View<sup>1115</sup>, are primordially enlightened. All, without exception, are [already] liberated.

However things appear, the single state wholly pervades and primordially includes them. If [this was] created, it would be the path of control. [But] it is taught that it is not accomplished, and is without inclusion or separation.

The primordially existing great bliss has no attachment to [its] situation. Therefore its appearances are not compounded. Because they pervade all [beings], there is no projection or absorption. Unimpeded by anything, they shine forth in each and every thing.

A great all-inclusive adornment, this intricate, non-dependent interlace<sup>1116</sup> primordially needs no alteration by another. All of the vast ocean of emanations remain in the state

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<sup>1113</sup> Here 'mind' is short for the mind of enlightenment.

<sup>1114</sup> Following Dg 123 /Tb 41 reading *lam* rather than Dg vol. Ra's repeated *sems* here, as it links more logically to '*bras bu*', the first word in the next line.

<sup>1115</sup> This refers to the View of Atiyoga.

<sup>1116</sup> In Tibetan, *rgya mdud*.



without basis or source, and are included in the state of reality that is not created by anyone.

[This] concludes All-inclusiveness.

## ***The Sublime King***

(*rJe btsan dam pa*)

**mTshams brag /gTing skyes /bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa /Vairocana rgyud 'bum<sup>1117</sup>  
version<sup>1118</sup>**

In the Indian language: Tsa ra sha ar tha'. In Tibetan: *rJe btsan dam pa*. [In English: the Sublime King].<sup>1119</sup>

Homage to the Blessed one, glorious Samantabhadra!

<sup>1120</sup>The Supreme Yoga<sup>1121</sup> is the deity of deities, and its yoga is the best of yogas, nobler than the noble ones. The vajra is the great progenitor<sup>1122</sup> of all the victors.

Samantabhadra is the Sublime King. Victorious Vajradhāra protects from fear those who commit deeds that transgress their vows. There is no other noble protector but him.

To dedicate oneself to this is a cloud of offerings. To remain stable [in this state] is the *sādhana*. The *siddhi* of the irreversibility of this state [is], in fact, the perfection of all goals in the *mudrā*.<sup>1123</sup>

Great bliss is also spontaneously perfected.<sup>1124</sup> The lama [who teaches] all these [things], since he is the manifestation of buddhahood, brings about supreme faith [in becoming] like [him].

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<sup>1117</sup> The VGB includes approximately half of this text in its version.

<sup>1118</sup> This version differs from that found in sDe dge vol. Ra, which I give below.

<sup>1119</sup> *rJe btsan*, the form found in most sources, is the archaic form of *rje btsun*. It is related to *btsan* [po] the title of the early rulers of Tibet.

<sup>1120</sup> The text from this point is also in the VGB, although not continuous.

<sup>1121</sup> *Shin tu rnal 'byor* in Tibetan, in Sanskrit *Atiyoga*.

<sup>1122</sup> Literally, “grandfather”.

<sup>1123</sup> Text from here on is missing in the VGB.

<sup>1124</sup> This line is omitted from the KSG commentary version.

The [spiritual] hero [is he who] teaches the definitive scriptures<sup>1125</sup>. Once he has followed these great scriptures, the tantrika will fulfil the all-pervading<sup>1126</sup> samaya according to the scholarly scriptures.

The [skilful] means of compassion, in their complete parts, have been condensed [here] for individuals who they will benefit, [but] their distinctions are only touched on here.

Though few in words, [this] concludes the Sublime King, king of the definitive *samādhi* of the mind of enlightenment, which condenses the vast meaning of the scriptures and precepts, elucidating everything and setting out the meaning of all the vehicles.<sup>1127</sup>

### **sDe dge version**

(Vol Ra, p.214.a.4 - 214b.1)

In the Indian language: tsa ra sha ar tha. In Tibetan: *rJe btsan dam pa*. [In English: the Sublime King].

Homage to the Deity of Realization!

The Sublime King of the mind of Enlightenment was disclosed and explained in the mind of the teacher.

When one rests in the unsought [state] that is unpolluted through any fault and pure from the beginning, [it is] the supreme meditation. The mind of enlightenment resides in all beings, the immutable Dharmakāya King.

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<sup>1125</sup> In Tibetan, *lung*. Elsewhere I have translated this as “statement”, but it seems a more flexible word is needed here.

<sup>1126</sup> The meaning of the phrase *snum pa'i dam tshig* is not completely clear to me.

<sup>1127</sup> The KSG commentary concludes by stating that the text was transmitted to Yang dbang gter (i.e. Nub Sangs rgyas ye shes).

To rest in [this] state is the unwaning vajra. The non-duality of appearance and non-appearance, the [buddha] body of the King is totally perfect great bliss.

A mind that is aware in the wondrous sky realizes the non-referential meaning that far transcends the domain of speech and thought; [this is] the Lord of Dharma.

No matter where he resides in<sup>1128</sup> the domain of appearance, there is no disturbance to the body of the King. Those who conceptualize written syllables diminish and degrade the meaning of the King.

The mind's own awareness [is] both inner and outer great bliss, the sublime King. If one views the non-duality of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa as it really is, it is the mind of enlightenment. Primordially enlightened, it is the Dharmakāya.

[This] concludes the Sublime King.

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<sup>1128</sup> amending *las* to *la*.

## *Accomplishing the Aim of Meditation*

(*sGom pa don grub*)

In the language of India: *bo dhi tsi ta sa ma ti a mo gha tsa na ma*.<sup>1129</sup>

In Tibetan: *Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa don grub pa*.

In English: Accomplishing the aim of meditation on the Mind of Enlightenment.

Homage to glorious Samantabhadra, the Great Bliss!

The sea of compassionate energy pervades all sentient beings. Even the gods and nāgas are protectors of its truth, [and so] should not show honour to the Three Jewels<sup>1130</sup>.

The realization of the true nature of things is accomplished through great bliss. The great person who has seen it himself should bring about understanding of this realization in the mind of suitable [beings].

Phenomena and mind are, from the beginning, non-dual. Since, despite searching for it, one does not find the mind's nature, there is nothing to show to another, saying "it is like this". Because mind and phenomena do not exist [as] any thing at all, when one meditates, one should not meditate on any thing. Whatever characteristics of conceptual thought may arise, if one knows that very thought to be the true nature of things, there is no need to meditate on the realm of reality anywhere else. In this there

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<sup>1129</sup> In correct Sanskrit this would be: *bodhicittasamādhyaṃogha* [ca?]

<sup>1130</sup> The *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* commentary on this text explains (p. 155.6) that this is said as a boast about the teaching. After listing a variety of other such pious actions, it says they "have the error of dualistically straying from the state of equality" (*sems gnyis pas mnyam pa'i ngang las gol ba'i skyon yod pa*). In other words, as the gods and nāgas are ultimately indivisible from them, for them to honour the Three Jewels is to fall into dualistic error.

is nothing to correct through antidotes or to suppress. In this way, non-distraction from this real state throughout the three times, and in all situations, is the Dharmakāya.

When this [realization] becomes powerful, the world has no self-nature. The manifestation of compassionate energy pervades everything, and pours a great rain of love upon sentient beings. When the meditator and that which is experienced in meditation are without duality, blissful presence in the state of the absolute is also called "meditation on the mind of enlightenment". When one holds the meaning of non-distraction [from] the great expanse of realization, [this] is meditation on the immaculate mind of enlightenment.

[This] concludes "Six Points on Meditation on the Mind of Enlightenment"

## Part Three - Editions

### Introduction to the Editions

#### Methods

Recent scholarship has highlighted some of the difficulties that face anyone attempting to apply the methods of classical textual criticism to texts of the rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum.<sup>1131</sup> The rNying ma textual canon is a fluid and relatively open one, especially in comparison with the *bKa' 'gyur*. The ongoing revelation of *gter ma* texts is an important factor in this. In addition, the long transmission of many texts inevitably introduced corruption into their readings. This eventually became so severe as to render some passages incomprehensible. This probably led some editors to resort to substantial emendation on occasion. In particular, the sDe dge xylographic edition may incorporate many “corrections” by eighteenth century editors that are not merely orthographic or grammatical but impact on the meaning. There is also the issue of probable contamination between the rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum editions; sDe dge is again the most likely example.<sup>1132</sup>

In addition to these problems relating to the rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum as a whole, the Thirteen Later Translations present their own specific difficulties. It is doubtful whether the texts were ever transmitted as a single corpus, and I have found that their varied historical careers necessitate textual analysis on an individual, case-by-case basis. There are not many witnesses available for study: while the maximum to which I had access was six (in the case of the *rTse mo byung rgyal*), most of the texts have less, and there are

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<sup>1131</sup> For a useful overview of this field, summarizing the approach of such scholars as Silk, Schoening, and Harrison, see Mayer, 2006 pp. 183-189.

<sup>1132</sup> Op. cit., pp. 260-261.

three single witnesses.<sup>1133</sup> Furthermore, the majority of the texts seem to fall into two broad transmission groups: mTshams brag, gTing skyes/Rig 'dzin (and the Vairo'i rgyud 'bum where applicable<sup>1134</sup>) are notably close in their readings, and so form one group, while sDe dge and the bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa commentaries form a second group. However, rather than resulting from a possibly early split into two distinct lines of textual transmission, the shared variants of the sDe dge and the KSG group are, I believe, more likely to derive from relatively late (17th or 18th century) scholarly corrections based on comparing a number of different exemplars, in order to render the texts more coherent. Thus I consider the sDe dge/KSG versions to be relatively recent, mixed recensions. A likely exception to this generalization is the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, whose two versions differ to such a degree that they may well represent a genuinely early bifid split in the transmission.<sup>1135</sup>

In the light of the above considerations, and especially the probably-contaminated sDe dge /KSG text group, I decided that it would be inadvisable to attempt to prepare critical editions or to undertake stemmatic analysis of each text. I instead initially prepared diplomatic editions on the basis of the mTshams brag NGB. However, the task of translating the texts into English naturally necessitated frequent choices between alternative readings, and I consequently drew up provisional “best text” editions, choosing what I judged to be the most convincingly plausible of the variant readings. (Nonetheless, all variant readings are exhaustively noted in the apparatus, including even minor orthographical and grammatical differences.) Finally, I also felt it justifiable to make a number of corrections where I found evidence for unambiguous errors.

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<sup>1133</sup> These are the *sPyi bcings*, the *Thig le drug pa*, and the (sDe dge) *Byang chub sems tig*.

<sup>1134</sup> The VGB version of the *rTse mo byung rgyal* (VGB vol.1, fol. 317.3 – 329.5) appears to be a separate transmission line, with some readings found in none of the other versions.

<sup>1135</sup> The sDe dge text appears to be quoted in the *Mun pa'i go cha*, and is certainly cited by the STMG, so must date back to the mid-ninth century at least.



## The Main Sources

The *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (NGB), in its various editions<sup>1136</sup>, is the main source for the Thirteen Later Translations. As noted above, I base my editions of the texts on the mTshams brag (Tb) edition of the NGB.<sup>1137</sup> My reasons for this choice include its good-quality legible printing, and its ease of access. Most importantly, I find that its versions of the texts are complete and reliable. It represents the Bhutanese transmission group of the NGB.

In addition, I include the gTing skyes NGB (Tk), which is part of the Southern Central Tibetan group. I also occasionally include the Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang Nor bu manuscript (Rig 'dzin), another member of the same NGB group.

The sDe dge NGB (Dg) is the third that I incorporate. Although poorly printed, I feel it is vital to include it since it represents the Eastern Tibetan transmission of the NGB.

I include also the *Vairocana rgyud 'bum* (VGB). Even though it lacks some of the texts, and presents incomplete versions of others, the VGB provides many interesting readings not found elsewhere. It seems to be the sole exemplar of a Western Tibetan (or Ladakhi) transmission of the texts.

The other major source that has proved invaluable is the *rNying ma bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa*. (KSG) This contains rare commentaries on most of the thirteen texts. These provide useful variant readings, as well as clarifications of the meaning of some difficult

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<sup>1136</sup> For an introductory overview of the history of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* in its different editions, see above p. 9.

<sup>1137</sup> The exceptions to this are: the *sPyi chings* edition, based on the single witness KSG commentary; the *sGom pa don sgrub*, based on the Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu NGB, and the single witness *Byang chub sems tig* found in the sDe dge NGB.

passages.<sup>1138</sup> Furthermore, in the case of the *sPyi chings*, the lemmata in the KSG commentary are the only form in which this text has survived.

I incorporate the citations of the Thirteen Texts that are contained in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* (STMG) where they played a key role in a text's identification<sup>1139</sup>. Elsewhere, I occasionally include readings from the STMG where these are particularly helpful.

## Patterns of Textual Transmission

Several quite clear relationships between the sources emerge. The mTshams brag and gTing skyes versions of the texts are consistently very close to each other. Rig 'dzin, (as would be expected, since they are part of the same Southern Central Tibetan NGB group), is slightly more faithful to gTing skyes.<sup>1140</sup>

sDe dge, in most cases, differs from Tb /Tk /Rig 'dzin mainly in displaying what can be called a more scholarly character. Its versions of the texts contain many minor spelling corrections. However, the sDe dge versions of three texts, the *Kun 'dus*, *rJe bstan dam pa* and *Khams gsum sgron ma* differ from those in the other sources. They derive from chapters of the *Chos thams cad byang chub kyi sems rdzogs pa chen po 'khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa rin po che dang mnyam pa skye ba med pa'i rgyud* (Tb 41). In addition, the sDe dge version of the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po* differs significantly from the Tb /Tk /Rig 'dzin version. The sDe dge version is the one found in the STMG citations from this text as well as in two commentaries contained in the KSG. Finally, sDe dge alone includes a text with the title *Byang chub sems tig*.<sup>1141</sup>

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<sup>1138</sup> Since the explanations in the commentaries may in some cases rely on doctrinal developments that post-date the Thirteen Later Translations themselves, I have kept in mind the risk of applying anachronistic interpretations.

<sup>1139</sup> For example, in the *sPyi chings*.

<sup>1140</sup> An important exception to this is the *sGom pa don sgrub*, present in Rig 'dzin but not in gTing skyes.

<sup>1141</sup> This text does not contain the single STMG citation of the *Byang chub sems tig*, however.

sDe dge shows a notably close relationship with the *bKa ma shin tu rgyas pa* versions of the Thirteen Texts. Since both sDe dge and bKa' thog monastery, where the KSG was redacted, are situated in eastern Tibet (Khams), their link probably derives from geographical proximity. Both read as if edited with careful reference to other versions in order to produce a "correct" text - which implies that they could both be "mixed" or contaminated. However they are not simply copies of each other - they do differ sometimes, for example, in which lines they choose to omit.

This "mixed" character of Dg /KSG may be illustrated by the following line:<sup>1142</sup>

VGB: *snang srid yongs su snyoms pa'i thugs rje 'byung /*

Tb /Tk /Rigdzin: *stong khams yongs su khyab pa'i thugs rje can /*

Dg /KSG: *stong khams yongs su snyom pa'i thugs rje can /*

Thus we see that sDe dge and the KSG contain elements of both the other two groups' versions – *stong khams* and *can* from Tb /Tk /R, but *snyom[s] pa'i* from VGB.

In my opinion, KSG is more likely to be based on sDe dge than *vice versa*. KSG appears to contain the most extensively corrected versions of the texts.<sup>1143</sup> As *bKa' ma* texts by definition represent the culmination of a long process of interwoven oral and textual transmission, this is not surprising.

Finally, the *Vairocana rgyud 'bum* is a difficult source to characterise. In several instances, it is remarkably consistent with Tb /Tk.<sup>1144</sup> Occasionally, however, it diverges widely from their versions.<sup>1145</sup> Moreover, it lacks some of the texts (the *Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, *bDe 'byams*, *Kun 'dus*, *Khams gsum sgron ma*), and contains only fragments of others (*rJe btsan dam pa*, *Srog gi 'khor lo*). The question of why the Thirteen Texts are so dispersed, fragmentary or missing in the VGB needs further study. It might be related to

<sup>1142</sup> mTshams brag fol. 305 v.4 /p.610.4).

<sup>1143</sup> This seems to be the case, for example, with the *Srog gi 'khor lo*.

<sup>1144</sup> This applies in the case of the *bDe ba phra bkod* and the *sPyi gcod*.

<sup>1145</sup> An example of this is the *rTse mo byung rgyal*.

the early date of the VGB's compilation, in the twelfth century, when doxographical groupings were perhaps still fluid. Its geographical isolation on the western edge of Tibet may be a factor that influenced its uniqueness. Equally relevant, perhaps, is the manner in which it was redacted, in what appears to be a much less formal and systematic fashion than the other NGB collections.

### **Sigla used in the editions**

Tb – mTshams brag edition of the rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum

Dg – sDe dge edition of the rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum

Tk – gTing skyes edition of the rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum

Rig 'dzin – Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu manuscript rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum

VGB – Vairo'i rgyud 'bum

KSG – rNying ma'i bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa

STMG – bSam gtan mig sgron

***rTse mo byung rgyal Edition***

**Based on version in mTshams brag vol. 1, fols. 303v.--308v.** <sup>1146</sup>

(folio and line numbers are from mTshams brag)

**fol. 303v.2/p. 606.2**

<sup>1147</sup>bcom ldan 'das dpal bde ba chen po kun tu bzang po<sup>1148</sup> la phyag 'tshal lo / bcom ldan  
'das<sup>1149</sup> dpal bde ba<sup>1150 1151</sup> thams cad mkhyen (l.3) pa'i thugs<sup>1152</sup> / sna tshogs kun tu bzang  
po rdo rje sems / dbyings dang ye shes 'du 'bral med pa'i gsung<sup>1153</sup> / rnam dag byang chub  
sams la phyag 'tshal lo<sup>1154</sup> / sngon tshe (l.4) 'das pa'i<sup>1155</sup> bska<sup>1156</sup> pa<sup>1157</sup> mtha' ring<sup>1158</sup> nas  
/ 'khrul 'khor blun rmongs mdongs<sup>1159</sup> pa'i<sup>1160</sup> 'gro ba rnams / nga dang bdag bcas mtshan  
mas bcings pa yis / khams gsum (l.5)<sup>1161</sup> rgyud la<sup>1162</sup> 'khor ba'i 'gro don du<sup>1163</sup> / snying  
po<sup>1164</sup> don las<sup>1165</sup> gdams<sup>1166</sup> pa'i<sup>1167</sup> gsung brjod<sup>1168</sup> 'di / <sup>1169</sup>rgyal sras gang 'dod<sup>1170</sup> dbang

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<sup>1146</sup> This edition incorporates the following versions of the text: mTsham brag (Tb) vol. 1, fols. 303v.-308v, pp. 606-618; gTing skyes (Tk) vol. 1, fols. 432-442; sDe dge (Dg) vol. Cha, p. 181.4; Vairo'i rgyud 'bum (VGB) vol. 1 fol. 317.3 – 329.5; rNying ma'i bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa (KSG) vol. 103, fols.179-230. Occasional reference is also made to the *Rig 'dzin Tse dbang nor bu* manuscript NGB, vol. 1 fols. 93v – 198v.

<sup>1147</sup> VGB adds rgya gar skad du / sha kha ra' dza bha / bod skad du / rtse mo byung rgyal

<sup>1148</sup> VGB omits kun tu bzang po

<sup>1149</sup> Tk omits 'das

<sup>1150</sup> Tk omits ba

<sup>1151</sup> KSG bde chen

<sup>1152</sup> Dg thams cad mkhyen pa bde ba chen po'i thugs

<sup>1153</sup> Dg sku

<sup>1154</sup> VGB (after phyag 'tshal lo): thams cad mkhyen pa bde ba chen po'i sku / mi 'gyur mnyam par sbyor bas rdo rje sems dpa'i gsung / sna tshogs rnam dag kun tu bzang po'i thugs / 'du 'bral med pa'i bdag la phyag 'tshal lo /

<sup>1155</sup> VGB omits 'das pa'i

<sup>1156</sup> KSG skal

<sup>1157</sup> Dg pa'i. VGB inserts grangs med

<sup>1158</sup> VGB /Tk /KSG rings

<sup>1159</sup> VGB ldongs

<sup>1160</sup> KSG ba'i

<sup>1161</sup> VGB inserts rtog

<sup>1162</sup> KSG /D las

<sup>1163</sup> KSG [don] pa

<sup>1164</sup> KSG / Dg snyigs ma'i

<sup>1165</sup> Dg la

<sup>1166</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg gdams; mTsham brag 'dams; Tk bsdams

<sup>1167</sup> VGB omits 'i

phyug skal ldan la / thugs rje'i dkyil 'khor<sup>1171</sup> rmad byung bsam (l.6) yas pa<sup>1172</sup> / rang rig  
blo la snang ba shar ba'i phyir<sup>1173</sup> / rnal 'byor phyi rabs don du gsungs pa<sup>1174</sup> yin<sup>1175</sup> / skal  
bzang snod ldan shin tu<sup>1176</sup> rnal 'byor don<sup>1177</sup> / lhun grub byang chub rdzogs (l.7) pa'i<sup>1178</sup>  
<sup>1179</sup> dbang dam can<sup>1180 1181</sup> / bla ma'i man ngag<sup>1182</sup> snyan khung<sup>1183</sup> thugs<sup>1184</sup> brgyud<sup>1185</sup>  
<sup>1186</sup> 'di<sup>1187</sup> / dad can<sup>1188</sup> rgyal rigs<sup>1189</sup> thugs dang 'dra rnams<sup>1190</sup> khyer<sup>1191</sup> / sku gsung yon  
tan 'phrin las mang po dang<sup>1192</sup> / (fol. 304 r. /p.607) thugs kyi dkyil 'khor rin chen sgo<sup>1193</sup>  
phye nas / bde<sup>1194</sup> gshegs dpal gyi mgur nas gsung bsgrags<sup>1195</sup> pa / gsang sngags dbang  
phyug rnal 'byor<sup>1196</sup> rgyal po (l.2) yin / mnyam sbyor kun tu bzang po nyid kyi  
dbyings<sup>1197</sup> / nam dag lam chen kun sgrol dgongs pa'i thugs<sup>1198</sup> / bgrod med nam  
grol<sup>1199</sup> rdzogs pa chen po'i lam / byar<sup>1200</sup> med / (l.3) lhun rdzogs skye med chos<sup>1201</sup> kyi

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<sup>1168</sup> KSG mchog

<sup>1169</sup> VGB inserts gang 'dod

<sup>1170</sup> VGB omits gang 'dod

<sup>1171</sup> VGB / KSG / Dg thugs rje'i dkyil 'khor; Tb thugs rjes 'khor lo

<sup>1172</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg pa; Tb /Tk pas.

<sup>1173</sup> KSG and Dg both omit this sentence

<sup>1174</sup> Tk gsung ba

<sup>1175</sup> KSG yis. Dg omits pa yin

<sup>1176</sup> VGB / KSG /Dg shin tu; Tk /Tb (and also Rig 'dzin) omit shin tu, leaving only 7 syllables in this line.

<sup>1177</sup> VGB la

<sup>1178</sup> VGB bcas; Dg te

<sup>1179</sup> KSG rdzogs dbang

<sup>1180</sup> VGB dbang dang ldan

<sup>1181</sup> KSG dam tshig can

<sup>1182</sup> VGB gdam ngag; Dg man can (?)

<sup>1183</sup> Dg omits khung.

<sup>1184</sup> VGB omits thugs

<sup>1185</sup> Tk rgyud.

<sup>1186</sup> VGB /Dg insert pa.

<sup>1187</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>1188</sup> VGB ldan.

<sup>1189</sup> KSG [rgyal ba'i] thugs.

<sup>1190</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg rnams; Tb /Tk na.

<sup>1191</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg khyer; Tb /Tk khyed.

<sup>1192</sup> VGB sku gsung yon tan 'phrin las mang po dang; Tb /Tk sku dang gsung thugs yon tan 'phrin las dang;

Dg /KSG sku dang gsung thugs yon tan 'phrin las kyi.

<sup>1193</sup> KSG yon tan sgo

<sup>1194</sup> KSG bder

<sup>1195</sup> VGB sgrags

<sup>1196</sup> Dg reverses the word order to rnal byor dbang phyug ; VGB mnyam sbyor

<sup>1197</sup> VGB reads: mnyam la 'dus pas kun tu bzang po'i dbyings

<sup>1198</sup> VGB reads: (kun sgrol) bde ba chen po'i thugs

<sup>1199</sup> Dg rnal byor (?).

<sup>1200</sup> VGB /KSG bya.

<sup>1201</sup> KSG [lhun rdzogs] skye ba med.

dbyings<sup>1202</sup> / theg pa'i rnam grangs gral<sup>1203</sup> thabs cha mnyam<sup>1204</sup> pas<sup>1205</sup> / ma 'dres chos  
 rnams yongs su rdzogs pa'i rgyan / klung<sup>1206</sup> yangs rgya mtsho<sup>1207</sup> (1.4) chu bo'i 'phro 'du  
 bzhin<sup>1208</sup> / rgyal thabs spyi blugs dbang phyug rnams kyi<sup>1209</sup> mdzod<sup>1210</sup> / shes bya shes  
 byed kun gyi<sup>1211</sup> gzhir gyur pa<sup>1212</sup> / kun gzhi gnas gyur<sup>1213</sup> rdzogs pa'i dkyil (1.5) 'khor ni /  
 rnam shes gdengs ka<sup>1214</sup> nam mkha'i rgyas mnyam pas<sup>1215</sup> 1216 / rtse mo byung rgyal bde  
 ba chen po'i dbyings / sde rgyud yangs dog<sup>1217</sup> bla na med pa'i sa<sup>1218</sup> / kun tu bzang po  
 rang (1.6) byung bcom ldan 'das / gcig pu rab tu che mchog chos sku'o<sup>1219</sup> / lhun rdzogs  
 sku gsung thugs kyi phyag rgya che / bdag dang gzhan du 'byed pa med pa'i phyir<sup>1220</sup> /  
 bla na med (1.7) pa'i go 'phang mchog la gnas / chos dbyings<sup>1221</sup> ma skyes<sup>1222</sup> 1223 sems  
 can med pa'i phyir / srid<sup>1224</sup> pa'i chos rnams ye nas lhun gyis grub<sup>1225</sup> / de rgyu<sup>1226</sup> lhun  
 rdzogs byang chub sems kyi (**fol.304 v. /p.608**) dbyings / mi gnas mya ngan 'das pa'i 'bras  
 bur gnas<sup>1227</sup> / zla rgyas bzhin du spros pa mi mnga' bar<sup>1228</sup> / ye nas<sup>1229</sup> rgya mtsho 'khyil  
 ba'i<sup>1230</sup> dbyings dang mtshungs<sup>1231</sup> / spros kyang (1.2) de bzhin bsdu kyang ji<sup>1232</sup> bzhin

<sup>1202</sup> VGB reads: (lhun rdzogs) ma skyes bde ba'i sa.

<sup>1203</sup> Tk grol.

<sup>1204</sup> Tb bsnyams; VGB snyams; Tk snyam; KSG mnyams; Dg snyoms.

<sup>1205</sup> Dg pa.

<sup>1206</sup> VGB /KSG klong.

<sup>1207</sup> Dg mtshor.

<sup>1208</sup> VGB reads: (rgya mtsho) lta bu'i mkha' klong yin.

<sup>1209</sup> Dg kyis.

<sup>1210</sup> Dg mdzad.

<sup>1211</sup> VGB rnams kyi.

<sup>1212</sup> VGB pas.

<sup>1213</sup> VGB (kun gzhi) ma bcos.

<sup>1214</sup> Dg ka'i.

<sup>1215</sup> KSG /Dg pa.

<sup>1216</sup> VGB reads: rnam shes rgyal bas nam mkha'i ngo bo ste.

<sup>1217</sup> VGB (sde rgyud) yangs dog; KSG yang dog; Dg yang thog; Tb /TK ya thog.

<sup>1218</sup> Dg bla na med pa yis.

<sup>1219</sup> Tb chos gu'o; Tk chos sku'o; KSG /Dg chos kyi sku; VGB (gcig pu rab tu che) bas bde ba'i sku.

<sup>1220</sup> KSG and Dg both omit this sentence.

<sup>1221</sup> VGB omits chos dbyings.

<sup>1222</sup> Tk / KSG /VGB skyes; Tb skye.

<sup>1223</sup> VGB inserts dbyings nas.

<sup>1224</sup> VGB / KSG /Dg srid; Tb /Tk sred.

<sup>1225</sup> Tk 'grub.

<sup>1226</sup> VGB thams cad.

<sup>1227</sup> VGB shar.

<sup>1228</sup> VGB bas; KSG /Dg ba. D line is illegible up to mi mnga' ba.

<sup>1229</sup> KSG ye shes.

<sup>1230</sup> KSG pa'i.

<sup>1231</sup> VGB tshul.

<sup>1232</sup> KSG ji; Tb /Tk /VGB /Dg de.

pa / bsod nams ye shes<sup>1233</sup> sku gsung thugs la rdzogs / lta ba nam mkha'i rgyal pos<sup>1234</sup>  
 'phang<sup>1235</sup> gcod<sup>1236</sup> pas<sup>1237</sup> / btang snyoms chen po<sup>1238</sup> lhun (1.3) rdzogs chos kyi dbyings  
<sup>1239</sup> / ma skyes mi gnas nam mkha'i rang bzhin la / thugs rje'i cho 'phrul<sup>1240</sup> ya mtshan  
 chen por ston<sup>1241</sup> / khyung chen gshog<sup>1242</sup> rdzogs mkha' la lding (1.4) ba<sup>1243</sup> bzhin / chu  
 klung<sup>1244</sup> ri brag<sup>1245</sup> gyen thur<sup>1246</sup> nyams<sup>1247</sup> mi mnga'<sup>1248</sup> / bar snang nam<sup>1249</sup> mkha'i  
 khams kun lam du bde<sup>1250</sup> / gang du<sup>1251</sup> dmigs pa'i sa kun gcod par byed / de bzhin ye nas  
 blo (1.5) sbyangs rnal 'byor thugs / byang chub snying por 'gro ba'i skal ldan pa'o<sup>1252</sup> /  
 sangs rgyas mngon du<sup>1253</sup> grub pa'i<sup>1254</sup> man ngag can / byang chub sems rtogs yon tan  
 khyad par / (1.6) 'phags / bdag dang gzhan don lhun grub ma spangs pa<sup>1255</sup> / spyod pa rgya  
 mtsho sna tshogs ci bder spyod / pa dma skye ba'i rgyu ni 'dam yin te<sup>1256</sup> / pa dma la  
 ni<sup>1257</sup> 'dam gyis gos pa (1.7) med<sup>1258</sup> / chos nyid<sup>1259</sup> chags pa med par rtogs 'gyur na<sup>1260</sup> /  
 ye shes<sup>1261</sup> chags med nyams pa<sup>1262</sup> rdul tsam<sup>1263</sup> med / thugs rje<sup>1264</sup> spyod pa bsam

<sup>1233</sup> VGB rnal 'byor tshogs gnyis; KSG /Dg (bsod nam) ye nas.

<sup>1234</sup> KSG po; Dg po'i.

<sup>1235</sup> KSG /Dg 'phang; Tb /TK /VGB 'phangs.

<sup>1236</sup> VGB gcod

<sup>1237</sup> Dg pa.

<sup>1238</sup> KSG chen por

<sup>1239</sup> KSG / Dg (? virtually illegible) lhun rdzogs chos kyi dbyings; VGB lhun rdzogs mnyam pa'i dbyings;  
 Tb /Tk sku (1.3) gsung chos kyi dbyings.

<sup>1240</sup> KSG /VGB /Dg thugs rje'i cho 'phrul; Tk thugs rje'i 'phrul pa; Tb thugs rje'i chos 'phrul.

<sup>1241</sup> VGB ya mtshan cher ston pa.

<sup>1242</sup> Tk bshog.

<sup>1243</sup> VGB ldings pa; KSG ldings ba.

<sup>1244</sup> Tk /KSG klung; Tb /VGB /Dg rlung.

<sup>1245</sup> VGB /Dg brag; Tb /Tk /KSG rab.

<sup>1246</sup> VGB /Dg thur; Tb /Tk 'thur; KSG thar.

<sup>1247</sup> Tk nyams; Tb /KSG /VGB /Dg nyam.

<sup>1248</sup> I have amended the reading found in all witnesses, mi nga, to mi mnga' (phonetically identical) as the  
 only intelligible reading here.

<sup>1249</sup> KSG omits nam.

<sup>1250</sup> VGB /Tk /KSG /Dg lam du bde; Tb lam bde ba.

<sup>1251</sup> VGB ltar.

<sup>1252</sup> VGB /Dg po.

<sup>1253</sup> VGB sum.

<sup>1254</sup> VGB grub pa'i; KSG byas pa'i.

<sup>1255</sup> KSG ma pangs pa'i; VGB ma spangs lhun rdzogs pas.

<sup>1256</sup> VGB kyang.

<sup>1257</sup> Dg yang.

<sup>1258</sup> VGB reads: dngos po dam gyi nyes pas gos pa med.

<sup>1259</sup> Tb inserts: chags nyid.

<sup>1260</sup> VGB reads: chos nyid gsal ba'i 'khor lo yang.

<sup>1261</sup> KSG nas.

<sup>1262</sup> VGB reads: (yes shes) ma chags gos pa.

<sup>1263</sup> KSG yang.



yas<sup>1265</sup> ji snyed pa<sup>1266</sup> / (fol. 305 r. /p.609) rnal 'byor thabs kyi<sup>1267</sup> spyod pa de<sup>1268</sup> bzhin  
 spyod / nam rtog spros bral gzung<sup>1269</sup> 'dzin mi mnga' yang<sup>1270</sup> / mkha' mnyam rgyal  
 pos<sup>1271</sup> 'dod dgu re ba skong / (1.2) skye med<sup>1272</sup> dbyings nas<sup>1273</sup> skye ba'i<sup>1274</sup> cho 'phrul  
 rnams / nam dag byang chub sems kyi<sup>1275</sup> dbyings nas<sup>1276</sup> spro<sup>1277</sup> / mkha' dbyings nam  
 dag yangs pa'i<sup>1278</sup> dkyil 'khor ni / lhun grub (1.3) yid bzhin rin chen gzhal yas khang /  
 phyogs dus kun nas 'khyil ba'i<sup>1279</sup> rgyal ba'i<sup>1280</sup> tshogs<sup>1281</sup> / rgyal ba nyid las<sup>1282</sup> rgyal ba'i  
 sku<sup>1283</sup> ston pa<sup>1284</sup> / rgyal<sup>1285</sup> tshogs rdo rje dbyings kyi dkyil (1.4) 'khor<sup>1286</sup> rnams / 'gro  
 don rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor bstan pa'i phyir<sup>1287</sup> / 'gro<sup>1288</sup> 'dul<sup>1289</sup> rdo rje dbyings kyi dkyil  
 'khor spros<sup>1290</sup> <sup>1291</sup> / sprin med mkha' la skar tshogs<sup>1292</sup> rgyas pa bzhin / (1.5) bkra<sup>1293</sup>  
 gsal<sup>1294</sup> longs spyod rdzogs pa'i<sup>1295</sup> 'khor dang bcas / kun bzang rdo rje sems dpa' dang<sup>1296</sup>  
 sbyor ba<sup>1297</sup> / shes rab dbyings nas thabs kyi phyag rgyar<sup>1298</sup> gsal / sang nge sal<sup>1299</sup> (1.6) le

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<sup>1264</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg rje; Tb /Tk rje'i.

<sup>1265</sup> KSG rab 'byam.

<sup>1266</sup> KSG ji lta ba.

<sup>1267</sup> Dg kyis.

<sup>1268</sup> VGB /Dg ji.

<sup>1269</sup> Tk bzung; KSG gzugs.

<sup>1270</sup> Dg ba.

<sup>1271</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg (? to judge by spacing of letters, since the print here is illegible) pos; Tb /Tk rgyal po.

<sup>1272</sup> VGB ma skyes.

<sup>1273</sup> Dg las.

<sup>1274</sup> VGB thugs rje'i.

<sup>1275</sup> KSG kyis.

<sup>1276</sup> KSG /Dg nas; Tb /Tk ngas.

<sup>1277</sup> KSG 'phros; Dg 'phro. VGB reads (byang chub sems) dpa'i sprul pa ste.

<sup>1278</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg (mkha' dbyings) nam par dag pa'i.

<sup>1279</sup> VGB ba; KSG pa.

<sup>1280</sup> Tk rgyal po'i.

<sup>1281</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg tshogs; Tb /Tk mchog.

<sup>1282</sup> Dg la.

<sup>1283</sup> KSG /Dg skur.

<sup>1284</sup> VGB reads: (rgyal ba nyid las) gzhan pa'i sku med pas.

<sup>1285</sup> VGB lha.

<sup>1286</sup> KSG (dyings kyi) rnal 'byor.

<sup>1287</sup> Tk bstan pa yi.

<sup>1288</sup> VGB rtog.

<sup>1289</sup> KSG ('gro) 'du.

<sup>1290</sup> VGB reads ('dul) nam par rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor spro.

<sup>1291</sup> Tk spro; KSG /Dg 'phro.

<sup>1292</sup> VGB gza skar.

<sup>1293</sup> VGB skra; KSG dkar; Dg bkrag.

<sup>1294</sup> Tk bsal.

<sup>1295</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>1296</sup> KSG mnyam; Dg dpal.

<sup>1297</sup> VGB (dpa') sbyor ba yang.

<sup>1298</sup> Dg rgya.

mnyam la ma 'dres pa / phung po khams dang skye mched rnal 'byor tshogs / kun tu bzang po rang byung bcom ldan 'das / gcig pu rab tu che mchog chos kyi sku / (1.7) lhun rdzogs sku gsung thugs kyi phyag rgya che / ye nas lhun grub byang chub snying po ni / bla med rgyal ba'i go 'phang mchog la zhugs<sup>1300</sup> / bdag<sup>1301</sup> dang gzhan du rtog<sup>1302</sup> pa mi mnga' (fol. 305 v. /p.610) yang<sup>1303</sup> / 'jig rten rdo rje<sup>1304</sup> nyi ma shar ba bzhin / lhan ne lham mer<sup>1305</sup> ldan pa'i dkyil 'khor can<sup>1306</sup> / rnam par thar pa'i zhal gsum phyag drug ni / sku gsum ye shes drug (1.2) dang chos kyi dbyings<sup>1307</sup> / ji ltar skar tshogs bzhin<sup>1308</sup> du ma spros<sup>1309</sup> bzhin<sup>1310</sup> / nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor 'bar ba'i<sup>1311</sup> zil gyis<sup>1312</sup> gnon<sup>1313</sup> / de bzhin kun bzang rdo rje sems dpa' (1.3) yang / nyi ma<sup>1314</sup> stong gi gzi chen<sup>1315</sup> 'bar bas brjid<sup>1316</sup> / rgyal ba'i tshogs chen<sup>1317</sup> 'dus pa'i<sup>1318</sup> gtso bo ste / phyi nang gsang ba'i dkyil 'khor kun gyi bdag<sup>1319</sup> / rnam (1.4) par shes pa'i gtso bo kun gyi gzhi / rang byung ye shes dbyings las ma g.yos kyang / stong khams<sup>1320</sup> yongs su khyab pa'i<sup>1321</sup> thugs rje can<sup>1322</sup> / 'gro ba'i dpal mgon sna (1.5) tshogs kun tu bzang / dbye bsal<sup>1323</sup> blang dor gnyis med don du gcig<sup>1324</sup> / phyi nang kun tu gsal bas<sup>1325</sup> chos kyi dbyings / rnam par dag<sup>1326</sup> pa'i spyod yul

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<sup>1299</sup> Tk /KSG /Dg sa.

<sup>1300</sup> Dg bzhugs.

<sup>1301</sup> KSG nyid.

<sup>1302</sup> VGB /KSG /D g(and Rig 'dzin) rtog; Tb /Tk rtogs.

<sup>1303</sup> KSG /Dg ba.

<sup>1304</sup> Dg rje'i.

<sup>1305</sup> VGB lhang nge lhan ner; KSG lhan ne lhang nge.

<sup>1306</sup> KSG gsal ba'i dkyil 'khor nas.

<sup>1307</sup> VGB bdud rtsi dbyings.

<sup>1308</sup> Tb /VGB /Dg bzhin ; KSG /Tk /(and Rig 'dzin) gzhan.

<sup>1309</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg 'phros.

<sup>1310</sup> VGB /Dg kyang.

<sup>1311</sup> KSG /Dg bas.

<sup>1312</sup> VGB gnon.

<sup>1313</sup> VGB bzhin.

<sup>1314</sup> Tk /KSG /Dg ma; Tb /VGB ma'i.

<sup>1315</sup> Dg brjid.

<sup>1316</sup> VGB 'bar ba'i nyi ma stong bas lhag pa'i phyir.

<sup>1317</sup> KSG rnams.

<sup>1318</sup> VGB 'bar ba'i.

<sup>1319</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg kun gyi bdag; Tb /Tk 'dus pa'i bdag.

<sup>1320</sup> VGB snang srid.

<sup>1321</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg snyoms pa'i.

<sup>1322</sup> VGB 'byung.

<sup>1323</sup> VGB /Tk gsal.

<sup>1324</sup> VGB (blang dor) med pas gcig pa'i don.

<sup>1325</sup> VGB: phyi nang kun tu gsal bas; Tb /Tk phyi dang nang gi thams cad; KSG /Dg phyi dang nang kun thams cad.

<sup>1326</sup> Dg thar.

thams cad ni<sup>1327</sup> / (l.6) sang rgyas sems can blang dor gnyis med de<sup>1328</sup> / lam gyis bcos su  
 ye nas<sup>1329</sup> ga la yod / bsgrub<sup>1330</sup> med rtsal sprugs smon pa med pa yi<sup>1331</sup> / bya<sup>1332</sup> med  
 lhun rdzogs bde<sup>1333</sup> (l.7) gshegs de bzhin te<sup>1334</sup> / rtog dpyod<sup>1335</sup> rnam dag gnyis<sup>1336</sup> med  
 chos dbyings la<sup>1337</sup> / log rtog<sup>1338</sup> 'khrul pa'i dbang du ga la 'gyur<sup>1339</sup> / rtog dang mi rtog ye  
 shes chos kyi sku / (**fol.306 r. /p.611**) mtha' la thug<sup>1340</sup> pa med<sup>1341</sup> cing dbyings la<sup>1342</sup> bri  
 ba med<sup>1343</sup> / skye med dbyings nas<sup>1344</sup> skye ba'i cho 'phrul rnam<sup>1345</sup> / gang yang ma yin  
 sna tshogs chos kyi dbyings / khams (l.2) gsum<sup>1346</sup> rnam dag<sup>1347</sup> ma byung ma skyes  
 na<sup>1348</sup> / dbus mtha' mi dmigs<sup>1349</sup> rnam par rtog las 'das / rnam rtog gnyen por<sup>1350</sup> rnam par  
 mi rtog pa<sup>1351</sup> 1352 / mi rtog 'dod pas<sup>1353</sup> rtog pa chen (l.3) po yin / chos kyi dbyings nyid  
 mi rtog rtog 'das pa<sup>1354</sup> / rtog dang mi rtog gnyis ka<sup>1355</sup> tshig gi mtha' / rnam rtog spros  
 med<sup>1356</sup> byang chub snying po yin<sup>1357</sup> / kun gzhi rnam (l.4) dag rnam<sup>1358</sup> shes rnam par

<sup>1327</sup> VGB reads: spyod yul 'di dag rnam par dag pa la.

<sup>1328</sup> VGB reads: sangs rgyas sems can blang dor mi byed pas.

<sup>1329</sup> VGB /Dg lam dang gnyen pos bcas su. KSG omits ye nas, leaving only seven syllables in this line.

<sup>1330</sup> KSG sgrub.

<sup>1331</sup> VGB (rtsal sprugs) gzhan du mi smon pas.

<sup>1332</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg byar.

<sup>1333</sup> KSG bder.

<sup>1334</sup> VGB (bde gshegs) nyid kyi gtso.

<sup>1335</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg dpyod; Tb /Tk (and Rig 'dzin) spyod.

<sup>1336</sup> KSG /Dg gnyis; Tb chis; Tk mchis (Rig 'dzin chis).

<sup>1337</sup> VGB (rtog dpyod) rnam par dag pa'i rol pa yin.

<sup>1338</sup> VGB /KSG spyod.

<sup>1339</sup> VGB (dbang du) mi 'gyur ro.

<sup>1340</sup> Tk thugs.

<sup>1341</sup> KSG /Dg mthar thug med

<sup>1342</sup> This line is too syllables too long, a defect remedied in KSG /Dg by shortening mtha' la thug pa to mthar thug med (with no alteration of meaning). However, I am inclined rather to discount dbyings la from this clause, as it seems superfluous.

<sup>1343</sup> VGB reads: mtha' dbus 'phel 'grib med pa'i ngang nyid las.

<sup>1344</sup> Dg las.

<sup>1345</sup> VGB reads: skye ba'i cho 'phrul rol pa mang po'i tshogs.

<sup>1346</sup> KSG /Dg /VGB khams gsum; Tb /Tk khams rnam.

<sup>1347</sup> KSG /Dg /VGB rnam dag; Tb /Tk ma dag.

<sup>1348</sup> VGB skye 'gag med pa la.

<sup>1349</sup> VGB /KSG dmigs; Tb /Tk /Dg gzigs.

<sup>1350</sup> Dg pos.

<sup>1351</sup> KSG sgom.

<sup>1352</sup> VGB reads: rtog pa'i gnyen por mi rtog phyogs bsgom pa.

<sup>1353</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg pa.

<sup>1354</sup> KSG mi rtog rtog las 'das; Dg mi rtog mtha' las 'das; VGB mnyam pa'i thig le mi rtog las 'das pa.

<sup>1355</sup> KSG ga.

<sup>1356</sup> VGB bral; KSG pa.

<sup>1357</sup> KSG /Dg ni.

<sup>1358</sup> KSG /Dg rnam(s erased in KSG); Tb /Tk ye.

dag<sup>1359</sup> / ye shes nam dag chos dbyings<sup>1360</sup> nam par dag<sup>1361</sup> / dam tshig nam dag lha  
 nams nam par dag<sup>1362</sup> / bdag nyid nam dag<sup>1363</sup> gzhan yang nam par (l.5) dag<sup>1364</sup> / lta ba  
 nam dag spyod pa nam par dag<sup>1365</sup> / sems can nam dag<sup>1366</sup> sang rgyas nam par dag /  
 rgyu nams nam dag<sup>1367</sup> 'bras bu<sup>1368</sup> nam par dag / rten 'byung nam dag<sup>1369</sup> 'brel ba<sup>1370</sup>  
 nam par<sup>1371</sup> dag / bdag med (l.6) gnyis med<sup>1372</sup> byang chub snying po las<sup>1373</sup> / dbyings  
 dang ye shes mnyam sbyor ma rtogs<sup>1374</sup> pa<sup>1375</sup> / chos nyid chos tshol myed<sup>1376</sup> nams  
 gzhan na med<sup>1377</sup> / rgyu 'bras don rtogs<sup>1378</sup> thabs dang (l.7) shes rab ste / mkhyen ldan<sup>1379</sup>  
 mun sel byang chub sems dang mnyam<sup>1380</sup> / dkyil 'khor byang chub sems las rang byung  
 ba<sup>1381</sup> 1382 / skye med 'gag med cho 'phrul sna tshog 'byung<sup>1383</sup> / (fol.307 v. /p.612) mthun  
 'jug 'tshams pa'i<sup>1384</sup> spyod<sup>1385</sup> pa rgya mtsho ni<sup>1386</sup> / bdag dang gzhan don ye nas lhun  
 grub kyang / thugs rje chen pos 'gro don<sup>1387</sup> rdzogs<sup>1388</sup> par mdzad / ming tshigs<sup>1389</sup>  
 sgron<sup>1390</sup> mas don gyi (l.2) 1391 gser mtshon pa<sup>1392</sup> / tshig gi<sup>1393</sup> nam grangs gsung gi

<sup>1359</sup> VGB kun gzhi nam shes ye nas dag pa yang.

<sup>1360</sup> KSG nams.

<sup>1361</sup> VGB reads: (ye shes nam dag) bde ba chen por gsal.

<sup>1362</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>1363</sup> VGB reads: bdag med dag pas.

<sup>1364</sup> KSG omits this line. However, in commenting on the previous line, it includes the phrase bdag nyid chen po – an instance, perhaps, of reluctance to completely omit an alternative reading.

<sup>1365</sup> Tb omits this line.

<sup>1366</sup> VGB (sems can) dag pas.

<sup>1367</sup> VGB rgyu yang dag pas.

<sup>1368</sup> VGB 'bras bu'ang.

<sup>1369</sup> VGB dag pas.

<sup>1370</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>1371</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>1372</sup> VGB dag pas.

<sup>1373</sup> VGB la.

<sup>1374</sup> KSG gtogs

<sup>1375</sup> (Rig 'dzin: rtog pas).

<sup>1376</sup> KSG /Dg chos; Tb /Tk (and Rig 'dzin) rnyed nams.

<sup>1377</sup> VGB chos kyi chos btsal chos nyid gzhan na med.

<sup>1378</sup> VGB (rgyu 'bras) gsal ba.

<sup>1379</sup> Dg pa.

<sup>1380</sup> VGB kun mkhyen mun sel byang chub dgongs par ldan.

<sup>1381</sup> KSG (sems las) byung ba ni.

<sup>1382</sup> VGB rang byung sems kyi dkyil 'khor ni.

<sup>1383</sup> VGB ma skyes klong nas cho 'phrul sna tshogs kyiis.

<sup>1384</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg 'tsham(s) pa'i; Tb /Tk 'tshal ba'i.

<sup>1385</sup> KSG spyad.

<sup>1386</sup> KSG na.

<sup>1387</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg don; Tb /Tk ba'i.

<sup>1388</sup> VGB /Tk /KSG /Dg (and Rig 'dzin) rdzogs; Tb rdzob.

<sup>1389</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg tshig; Tb /Tk tshogs.

<sup>1390</sup> Tb /Tk omit sgron.

'khor lo can / yod med mtha' las 'das pa<sup>1394</sup> kun gzhi ni<sup>1395</sup> / ming tshog<sup>1396</sup> tshig gi rnam  
grangs sdud<sup>1397</sup> pa'i (1.3) bdag / yod kyang<sup>1398</sup> ma yin de bzhin med ma yin<sup>1399</sup> / rtag par  
ma yin chad pa'i mtha'<sup>1400</sup> ma yin<sup>1401</sup> / bdag tu<sup>1402</sup> ma yin mtshan ma<sup>1403</sup> 'dzin pa med<sup>1404</sup> /  
ji bzhin mngon sum (1.4) snang ba med pa la<sup>1405 1406</sup> / phyi nang gzung 'dzin<sup>1407</sup> dngos por  
gang rtog pa / mi mkhas<sup>1408</sup> rmong pas<sup>1409</sup> mu stegs rtag<sup>1410</sup> la<sup>1411</sup> zhen / sna tshogs  
rang<sup>1412</sup> bzhin med par gang smra ba<sup>1413</sup> / (1.5) med pa<sup>1414</sup> mthong bas<sup>1415 1416</sup> mu stegs  
chad pa'i lam / rtag chad gnyis kar<sup>1417</sup> gang gi blo zhen<sup>1418</sup> pa / don gyi snying po<sup>1419</sup>  
bzhed las<sup>1420</sup> gol bar<sup>1421</sup> gsungs / gang yang<sup>1422</sup> ma yin sna tshogs (1.6) chos kyi dbyings  
<sup>1423</sup> / shes pa'i khyad par<sup>1424</sup> byang chub snying po ni / gnyis med<sup>1425</sup> don rtogs<sup>1426</sup> rdzogs  
chen<sup>1427</sup> rnal 'byor pa<sup>1428</sup> / ye shes rnam dag lhun sbyor grub pa'i mtha'<sup>1429</sup> / re (1.7) dogs

<sup>1391</sup> Tb don dag gi; Tk don gyi.

<sup>1392</sup> Tb /Tk pas.

<sup>1393</sup> Tb ni.

<sup>1394</sup> VGB /KSG pa; Dg pa'i; Tb /Tk pas.

<sup>1395</sup> VGB kun gyi gzhi.

<sup>1396</sup> KSG tshigs.

<sup>1397</sup> KSG /Dg sdud; Tb /Tk bsdus; VGB bsdud.

<sup>1398</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>1399</sup> VGB: ye nas yod dang med pa'ang ma yin te.

<sup>1400</sup> KSG mthar (ma yin); Dg mtha' ru min.

<sup>1401</sup> VGB reads: mtha' gnyis rtag dang chad pa'ang ma yin la.

<sup>1402</sup> KSG du.

<sup>1403</sup> KSG /Dg (mtshan) mar.

<sup>1404</sup> VGB: bdag dang gzhan gyi mtshan mar ma yin zhing

<sup>1405</sup> VGB la; Tb las.

<sup>1406</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) /KSG /Dg omit this line.

<sup>1407</sup> VGB gzung dang 'dzin pa'i.

<sup>1408</sup> VGB shes.

<sup>1409</sup> Dg pa.

<sup>1410</sup> KSG rtag; Tb /Tk dag; VGB /Dg lta.

<sup>1411</sup> KSG omits la.

<sup>1412</sup> KSG snang.

<sup>1413</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg (gang) smra ba; Tb /Tk (gang) gsungs pa.

<sup>1414</sup> KSG /Dg par.

<sup>1415</sup> KSG /Dg bas; Tb /Tk ba.

<sup>1416</sup> VGB mtha' la zhen pas.

<sup>1417</sup> VGB /Tk /KSG gar.

<sup>1418</sup> Tk zhan.

<sup>1419</sup> Dg po'i.

<sup>1420</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg gol; Tb goms ;Tk gom.

<sup>1421</sup> VGB /KSG bar; Dg sar; Tb /Tk par.

<sup>1422</sup> VGB /Tk /KSG /Dg yang; Tb yin.

<sup>1423</sup> Tk /KSG /Dg chos kyi dbyings; Tb chos dbyings su; VGB (sna tshogs) kyi dbyings.

<sup>1424</sup> Tb /Tk (and Rig 'dzin) shes pa'i khyad par ;VGB /Dg bde gshegs rigs can; KSG shes pa'i ris can.

<sup>1425</sup> KSG 'od gsal.

<sup>1426</sup> VGB (gnyis med) chos chen.

<sup>1427</sup> VGB pa'i.

med pas dbyings nas<sup>1430</sup> dbyings nyid gsal / sangs rgyas gzhan nas<sup>1431</sup> tshol ba<sup>1432</sup> grub  
mtha' med<sup>1433 1434</sup> / kun gzhi nam shes<sup>1435</sup> ye nas<sup>1436</sup> chos kyi dbyings / ye (**fol. 307 r.**  
**/p.613**) nas lhun grub sangs rgyas mngon sum na<sup>1437</sup> / gang nas<sup>1438</sup> su la sangs rgyas gsol  
ba 'debs / 'khrul 'khor nyam<sup>1439</sup> thag ri dwags<sup>1440</sup> smig<sup>1441</sup> rgyu<sup>1442</sup> bzhin<sup>1443</sup> / (l.2) sang  
rgyas nyid kyis<sup>1444</sup> sangs rgyas nyid 'tshol ba<sup>1445</sup> / rgya mtsho'i<sup>1446</sup> dbyings nas smig<sup>1447</sup>  
rgyu<sup>1448</sup> snyeg<sup>1449</sup> pa bzhin / thig le'i<sup>1450</sup> dbyings nas rgyal ba'i dgongs pa myed<sup>1451</sup> / de  
lta bas na<sup>1452</sup> sangs (l.3) rgyas thob 'dod na / ting 'dzin rgyal po byang chub sems la  
tsam<sup>1453</sup> / rtogs<sup>1454</sup> na bdag nyid sangs rgyas mngon sum ste / mnyam pa'i rgyal po gnyis  
med<sup>1455</sup> chos kyi sku / gsang (l.4) dang gsang chen dkyil 'khor zhes bya ba<sup>1456</sup> / sangs  
rgyas dkyil 'khor rtogs pa nyid la 'dus<sup>1457 1458</sup> / 'khor<sup>1459</sup> ldan bsod nams ye shes mtshon

<sup>1428</sup> Dg pa'i.

<sup>1429</sup> VGB (ye shes nam dag) lhun gyis grub pa yang.

<sup>1430</sup> VGB /Dg las; KSG la.

<sup>1431</sup> VGB du.

<sup>1432</sup> Dg ba'i; Tk omits tshol ba.

<sup>1433</sup> VGB min.

<sup>1434</sup> Tk de.

<sup>1435</sup> Dg omits [nam] par [shes] pa. By omitting these particles the correct syllable count is achieved in this line. All the other witnesses read nam par shes pa, except for the VGB – for which see the next note.

<sup>1436</sup> VGB (kun gzhi) ma bcos mnyam pa.

<sup>1437</sup> VGB pa.

<sup>1438</sup> KSG du.

<sup>1439</sup> VGB /KSG nyams.

<sup>1440</sup> Tk /KSG /Dg dwags; Tb /VGB dags.

<sup>1441</sup> VGB rmig; KSG smigs.

<sup>1442</sup> VGB and Dg omit snyeg pa; Tb /Tk snyeg pa; KSG myeg pa.

<sup>1443</sup> VGB /Dg bzhin; KSG /Tb /Tk 'dra.

<sup>1444</sup> VGB kyi.

<sup>1445</sup> KSG la tshol; Dg 'chos pa.

<sup>1446</sup> Tk mtsho.

<sup>1447</sup> VGB mig; KSG smigs.

<sup>1448</sup> Dg rgyur (?).

<sup>1449</sup> VGB /KSG myeg; Dg bsnyegs.

<sup>1450</sup> VGB le'i; Tb le.

<sup>1451</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) / KSG /Dg omit the line thig le dbyings nas rgyal ba'i dgongs pa myed. Because myed "to find" reads rather incongruously here, this may account for the absence of this line from witnesses other than VGB and Tb. It is possible that myed originated as a copying error for myeg, a misspelling (attested in the previous line of the VGB) of snyeg(s), "to pursue" or "strive for", which would be more intelligible in this context of failing to find Buddhahood due to delusion.

<sup>1452</sup> VGB de lta bu yi.

<sup>1453</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg gsal; Tk rtal (Rig 'dzin brtsal).

<sup>1454</sup> VGB /KSG brtags.

<sup>1455</sup> KSG mnyam nyid.

<sup>1456</sup> VGB: (gsang dang gsang) ba'i dkyil 'khor chen po ni.

<sup>1457</sup> KSG /Dg 'dus; Tb /Tk rdzogs.

<sup>1458</sup> VGB (sangs rgyas dkyil 'khor) thugs la 'dus gsal ba.

<sup>1459</sup> KSG bcom.

nas so<sup>1460</sup> <sup>1461</sup> / mngon sum mtshan dang (l.5) dpe byad ldan pa yin<sup>1462</sup> / chos nyid yul<sup>1463</sup>  
dang snying rje chen po yi<sup>1464</sup> / dbang phyug rdzogs pa chen po'i dam tshig la<sup>1465</sup> / ye nas  
rnam dag byang chub snying po ni<sup>1466</sup> / rgyal ba'i dkyil (l.6) 'khor mnyam dang mi  
gnyis<sup>1467</sup> gcig / mnyes ldan dngos grub blangs na<sup>1468</sup> thob par nges / 'jig rten gsal byed nyi  
ma'i dkyil 'khor bzhin / grags ldan stong khams yongs (l.7) su 'byung bar 'gyur / rgya  
mtsho<sup>1469</sup> u dum ba<sup>1470</sup> ra'i<sup>1471</sup> dpe bzhin du / byang chub sems ldan<sup>1472</sup> brgya lam<sup>1473</sup> lan  
gcig na / mi gtong ting 'dzin<sup>1474</sup> bsgoms<sup>1475</sup> na 'grub par 'gyur / (fol. 307 v. /p.614) gal te  
chags sdang<sup>1476</sup> blang dor blo skyes te<sup>1477</sup> / 'khrul sems skad cig rkyen gyis<sup>1478</sup> 'khros<sup>1479</sup>  
'gyur na<sup>1480</sup> / bla med byang chub don las 'gal ba'i phyir / skad cig ma la<sup>1481</sup> 'grub 'gyur<sup>1482</sup>  
(l.2) sems 'di la / log rtog gsog<sup>1483</sup> zhugs 'khrul<sup>1484</sup> pa'i dbang gis brlag / 'ben<sup>1485</sup> thag chad  
pas<sup>1486</sup> nye bar 'grub mi 'gyur / blo ldan nam zhig<sup>1487</sup> 'gyod<sup>1488</sup> pa drag skyes nas<sup>1489</sup> / (l.3)  
rang sems dpang<sup>1490</sup> du btsugs<sup>1491</sup> nas mi gtong<sup>1492</sup> ba / gzhan nas btsal zhing sgrub<sup>1493</sup>

<sup>1460</sup> KSG /Dg tshogs rdzogs pa; Tb mtshon nas so; Tk mtshon rnam so.

<sup>1461</sup> VGB bsod nams ye shes ye nas rdzogs pa ste.

<sup>1462</sup> VGB ldan pa'i phyir; KSG ldan pa bzhin.

<sup>1463</sup> Dg 'dul.

<sup>1464</sup> KSG /Dg /Tb yi; Tk chen po'o.

<sup>1465</sup> Dg pa.

<sup>1466</sup> KSG /Dg ye nas rnam dag byang chub snying po ni; VGB 'du 'bral med pa'i byang chub snying po yin;  
Tb ye nas rnam dag byang chub sems po na; Tk ye nas rnam dag byang chub sems dpa' ni.

<sup>1467</sup> KSG /Dg (rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor) mnyam dang mi gnyis gcig; Tb /Tk (rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor) mnyam  
dang mi mnyam gcig; VGB (rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor) bdag nyid chen por gcig.

<sup>1468</sup> VGB nas; Dg med.

<sup>1469</sup> VGB mtsho'i.

<sup>1470</sup> KSG /Dg wa.

<sup>1471</sup> VGB 'bar ba'i.

<sup>1472</sup> KSG ni.

<sup>1473</sup> VGB rgyal ba; Dg brgya'am.

<sup>1474</sup> KSG (mi gtong) ting 'dzin; Tb /Tk 'dzin goms ; VGB (mi gtong) klong du; Dg mi dmigs (?) ting 'dzin.

<sup>1475</sup> Dg goms.

<sup>1476</sup> VGB (gal te) 'dzin chags.

<sup>1477</sup> VGB 'khor.

<sup>1478</sup> KSG rkyen gyi skad cig.

<sup>1479</sup> KSG 'phros.

<sup>1480</sup> VGB ('khrul sems) rtog pas skad cig nyams gyur na.

<sup>1481</sup> Dg las (?).

<sup>1482</sup> Dg grub gyur.

<sup>1483</sup> VGB sems.

<sup>1484</sup> Dg khros.

<sup>1485</sup> Dg 'ben (?)

<sup>1486</sup> VGB chad pas; Tb /Tk chod 'gyur; KSG /Dg chad 'gyur.

<sup>1487</sup> VGB gang zhig.

<sup>1488</sup> VGB /Tk /KSG /Dg 'gyod; Tb 'gyed.

<sup>1489</sup> KSG na.

<sup>1490</sup> KSG /Dg dpang; Tb /Tk/VGB spang.

kyang mi dgos te<sup>1494</sup> / byang chub sems mchog blo la shar ba yin / bskal par<sup>1495</sup> bsags  
 (1.4) pa'i mun nag 'thibs<sup>1496</sup> po yang / rig<sup>1497</sup> pa'i rgyal po ye shes nyi zer gyis / gnyen pos  
 mi mthun spong<sup>1498</sup> la mi ltos par<sup>1499</sup> / skad cig yud tsam nyid la gsal bar<sup>1500</sup> 'gyur<sup>1501</sup> /  
 (1.5) mi shes blun rmongs skal<sup>1502</sup> med skye bo rnams / bdag dang gzhan du 'dzin pa'i  
 sems rgyud<sup>1503</sup> kun / rang bzhin rgyal ba'i chos skur gcig pa las<sup>1504 1505</sup> / 'khrul pas so sor  
 (1.6) brtags te mthong bas<sup>1506</sup> nor / ye shes sgyu ma<sup>1507</sup> rgyal ba rgya mtsho dang<sup>1508</sup> / log  
 rtog rgyu ma<sup>1509</sup> rgyud lnga'i<sup>1510</sup> sems can rnams<sup>1511</sup> / kun rdzob sgyu ma'i<sup>1512</sup> khyad par  
 bsam yas kyang / don (1.7) dam dbyings su rang bzhin yongs kyis<sup>1513</sup> mnyam / chos  
 rnams thams cad ye nas stong pa'i phyir<sup>1514</sup> / de tsam nyid na<sup>1515</sup> mi gnas mya ngan 'das /  
 sems can thams cad (**fol. 308 r. /p.615**) byang chub snying po la<sup>1516</sup> / rang rig<sup>1517</sup> sems  
 nyid sangs rgyas mngon sum na<sup>1518</sup> / gzhan nas bsgrubs pa'i<sup>1519</sup> rgyal ba<sup>1520</sup> rdul tsam  
 med / 'gro<sup>1521</sup> ba skal<sup>1522</sup> ldan (1.2) rnams kyi don tsam du / bsgom zhing bsgrubs pa'i tha

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<sup>1491</sup> Tk bcug.

<sup>1492</sup> VGB gtod.

<sup>1493</sup> VGB bsgrub

<sup>1494</sup> KSG and Dg omit this line.

<sup>1495</sup> VGB bar.

<sup>1496</sup> Tk 'thib; KSG /Dg thibs.

<sup>1497</sup> Tk /Dg rigs.

<sup>1498</sup> VGB yongs

<sup>1499</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) / KSG /Dg omit this line.

<sup>1500</sup> KSG (nyid la) dangs par.

<sup>1501</sup> VGB (gsal) ba'i don.

<sup>1502</sup> VGB bskal.

<sup>1503</sup> VGB rgyun.

<sup>1504</sup> VGB la.

<sup>1505</sup> KSG (rgyal ba'i) sku ru bzhugs pa la.

<sup>1506</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg (brtags te) mthong bas; Tb /Tk (and Rig 'dzin) 'khung pa nor.

<sup>1507</sup> Dg (ye shes) sku la.

<sup>1508</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg dang; Tb /Tk la.

<sup>1509</sup> KSG ma'i.

<sup>1510</sup> KSG lnga.

<sup>1511</sup> VGB (log rtog sgyu) mas 'khrul pa'i 'gro ba rnams.

<sup>1512</sup> VGB rgyu 'bras; Dg sgyu mar.

<sup>1513</sup> VGB kyi.

<sup>1514</sup> KSG (stong) pa yi.

<sup>1515</sup> VGB la; KSG nas; Dg la'ang.

<sup>1516</sup> VGB thams cad byang chub snying po nyid du nges.

<sup>1517</sup> KSG /Dg rang gi.

<sup>1518</sup> VGB thams cad de lta'i thig ler gsal ba las.

<sup>1519</sup> Dg bsgrub pa'i; Tb /Tk bsgrubs zer; KSG btsal ba'i.

<sup>1520</sup> VGB sangs rgyas gzhan nas bsgrub du.

<sup>1521</sup> Rig 'dzin 'khor.

<sup>1522</sup> VGB bskal.



snyad lung du bstan<sup>1523</sup> / de lta bas na mi 'grub<sup>1524</sup> pa<sup>1525</sup> yang med<sup>1526</sup> / de lta de bzhin  
chos kyi dbyings rig na<sup>1527</sup> / ma rig (l.3) rnams la snying rje chen po<sup>1528</sup> skye<sup>1529</sup> / snying  
rje skyes nas sgyu ma'i ting 'dzin gyis<sup>1530</sup> / 'gro don thabs kyis<sup>1531</sup> spyod pa sna tshogs  
ston / bdag dang gzhan du rtog pa med pa'i phyir / (l.4) ye nas gnyis med don gcig chos  
kyi sku / chos sku skye med rtogs<sup>1532</sup> nas 'gro don du / skye ba'i cho 'phrul yang nas yang  
du ston<sup>1533</sup> / mdzad pa bcu gnyis 'gro don mthar (l.5) phyin pa / cir yang 'gyur ba'i gzugs  
can sprul pa'i sku<sup>1534</sup> / thugs rje'i<sup>1535</sup> cho 'phrul sna tshogs cir yang gsal / sems can sangs  
rgyas yin par lung du bstan<sup>1536</sup> / (l.6) thugs rje sprul pas gdul bya kun 'dul yang<sup>1537</sup> / sgyu  
ma'i blo ldan<sup>1538</sup> rlom sems rdul tsam<sup>1539</sup> med / sangs rgyas rnams kyi<sup>1540</sup> dgongs rgyud ji  
lta bu / rang gi mtshan nyid ma bcos (l.7) de bzhin nyid / chos rnams sgyu mar mngon  
sum<sup>1541</sup> gsal ba'i phyir / ting 'dzin sgyu ma'i<sup>1542</sup> cho 'phrul sna tshogs rnams / cir yang mi  
dmigs gar<sup>1543</sup> yang nges pa med / (fol. 308 v. / p.616) rang 'byung rmad grags byang chub  
snying po 'di / gang du bstan par shi le na le 'dra<sup>1544</sup> / skye 'gro phyi nang gzugs rnams<sup>1545</sup>  
thams cad ni<sup>1546</sup> / sku mchog mi zad rgyan gyi 'khor lor<sup>1547</sup> (l.2) rdzogs<sup>1548</sup> / sgra skad rab  
'bring tha ma ma lus pa<sup>1549</sup> / gsung dbyangs<sup>1550</sup> mi zad<sup>1551</sup> rgyan gyi 'khor lor<sup>1552</sup> zab<sup>1553</sup> /

<sup>1523</sup> KSG omits this line.

<sup>1524</sup> KSG bsgrub.

<sup>1525</sup> VGB /Dg pa; KSG pa'ang; Tb /Tk gang.

<sup>1526</sup> KSG min.

<sup>1527</sup> VGB nas.

<sup>1528</sup> KSG por.

<sup>1529</sup> VGB /Dg bskyed.

<sup>1530</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg gyis; Tb /Tk gyi.

<sup>1531</sup> VGB /KSG kyi; Dg la.

<sup>1532</sup> KSG /Dg rtogs; Tb /Tk rtags; VGB dbyings.

<sup>1533</sup> KSG 'byung; Dg bstan.

<sup>1534</sup> VGB skus.

<sup>1535</sup> VGB rje.

<sup>1536</sup> KSG and Dg omit this line.

<sup>1537</sup> Dg bas.

<sup>1538</sup> VGB la; KSG can.

<sup>1539</sup> KSG yang.

<sup>1540</sup> KSG kyis.

<sup>1541</sup> VGB du.

<sup>1542</sup> KSG ma.

<sup>1543</sup> VGB /Dg gang.

<sup>1544</sup> VGB and Dg omit this line.

<sup>1545</sup> KSG (gzugs) 'di.

<sup>1546</sup> VGB omits this line.

<sup>1547</sup> Tk /Dg lo.

<sup>1548</sup> VGB omits this line.

<sup>1549</sup> VGB gzugs sgra rnam rtog rab 'bring tha ma gsum.

<sup>1550</sup> KSG dbyings

thams cad ma lus dbyings su ro gcig phyir / thugs mchog<sup>1554</sup> mi (1.3)zad<sup>1555</sup> rgyan gyi  
 'khor lor<sup>1556</sup> 'dus / mnyam sbyor tshim<sup>1557</sup> 'gyur gsal nas mngon pa yi<sup>1558</sup> / chos kyi sku  
 mchog byang chub snying por thim / gsang sngags dbang phyug go 'phang (1.4) chen  
 po<sup>1559</sup> 'dir<sup>1560</sup> / phyi nang gsang ba'i don dang mi ldan par / la la mkhas 'dod dregs pa'i nga  
 rgyal can / rang gi lta ba ya rabs mtho 'dod<sup>1561</sup> de<sup>1562</sup> / gti mug dbang gis (1.5) bag zon ma  
 chags par<sup>1563</sup> / 'dran 'dod<sup>1564</sup> yas bzhag btsan thabs dregs pa yis / bdag las<sup>1565</sup> gzhan med  
 dpe zla<sup>1566</sup> 'phags 'dod pa<sup>1567</sup> / gzhan la<sup>1568</sup> brnyas<sup>1569</sup> 'dod<sup>1570</sup> bdag nyid<sup>1571</sup> (1.6) lhar  
 bsgoms kyang<sup>1572</sup> / mnyam pa'i rgyal po'i<sup>1573</sup> don<sup>1574</sup> las 'gal ba'i phyir / lta spyod ya  
 cha<sup>1575</sup> bdud kyi las su 'gyur / mthon<sup>1576</sup> dman rlom sems dbang 'gyur<sup>1577</sup> mnyam pa'i (1.7)  
 gcugs<sup>1578</sup> / nga 'o<sup>1579</sup> snyam<sup>1580</sup> pa'i nga rgyal rang bzhin te<sup>1581</sup> / mkhas pa'i<sup>1582</sup> blo can<sup>1583</sup>  
 bla ma'i lung bzhin du / skyon spong dge rtsa 'phags gral<sup>1584</sup> khyad par can<sup>1585</sup> / tshig la

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<sup>1551</sup> Dg (gsung dbyangs) mi zad; Tb /Tk /KSG ma lus.

<sup>1552</sup> Dg lo.

<sup>1553</sup> VGB reads: ma lus sku gsung rgyan gyi 'khor lo zab.

<sup>1554</sup> VGB bde chen.

<sup>1555</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg zad; Tb 'dzad ; Tk mdzad.

<sup>1556</sup> KSG los.

<sup>1557</sup> KSG /Dg thim.

<sup>1558</sup> VGB: (mnyam sbyor) thig ler mngon du gsal ba yang; KSG /Dg (gsal nas) mi mngon pa'i.

<sup>1559</sup> Tk omits chen po.

<sup>1560</sup> VGB 'di.

<sup>1561</sup> VGB /Dg bzhed.

<sup>1562</sup> VGB kyang.

<sup>1563</sup> KSG ( ma) chad pas.

<sup>1564</sup> VGB 'dran 'dod; KSG dran drod; Tb /Tk drang rdod ; Dg drag 'dod.

<sup>1565</sup> Dg la.

<sup>1566</sup> VGB bzlas.

<sup>1567</sup> KSG na.

<sup>1568</sup> KSG las.

<sup>1569</sup> KSG /Dg brnyas; Tb bsnyad ;Tk snyad.

<sup>1570</sup> VGB (gzhan la) dam btsugs; Dg btsugs.

<sup>1571</sup> Dg gis.

<sup>1572</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg kyang; Tb /Tk kyis.

<sup>1573</sup> VGB pos; KSG po.

<sup>1574</sup> KSG de.

<sup>1575</sup> Dg cha'i.

<sup>1576</sup> VGB /KSG mthon; Dg mtho; Rig 'dzin mdon; Tb /Tk mngon.

<sup>1577</sup> KSG du.

<sup>1578</sup> VGB btsugs; Tk /Dg bcugs.

<sup>1579</sup> VGB bo.

<sup>1580</sup> VGB mnyam.

<sup>1581</sup> VGB (nga rgyal) nyid kyi nyams; KSG (nga rgyal) zhi ba ste.

<sup>1582</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>1583</sup> VGB /Dg ldan.

<sup>1584</sup> Dg dral.

<sup>1585</sup> VGB (skyon spong) dge ba'i yon tan khyad par 'phags.

mnyam sbyor (**fol. 308.r /p.617**) mkhas pa'i<sup>1586</sup> zla med kyang / dam tshig phyal<sup>1587</sup>  
bas<sup>1588</sup> byang chub sems<sup>1589</sup> spangs<sup>1590</sup> nas<sup>1591</sup> / rdo rje lta bur 'grub 'gyur tshe<sup>1592</sup> 'di la /  
log 'dren srog<sup>1593</sup> can bden (l.2) tshig ci smras kyang<sup>1594</sup> / 'khrul pa'i<sup>1595</sup> sems nyid log  
'dren dbang du 'gyur / gsang sngags rgya mtsho'i<sup>1596</sup> sgo 'di<sup>1597</sup> yangs pa ru / 'jug 'dod  
rgyal ba'i<sup>1598</sup> sku bslus<sup>1599</sup> slar log pa / (l.3) bdud rtsi myong nas dug tu<sup>1600</sup> 'khrul<sup>1601</sup> pa  
gang / bdud rtsi de las gzhan nas mi rnyed cing<sup>1602</sup> / ba dzra ya ksha<sup>1603</sup> drag po<sup>1604</sup> i  
snying la gnas / lus srog sgyu ma rdul du brlag<sup>1605</sup> nas kyang / (l.4) dmyal bar nges<sup>1606</sup>  
'gro gtan<sup>1607</sup> du snying re rje / gnam lcags mkha' las 'dam du<sup>1608</sup> bying ba bzhin / ri  
dags<sup>1609</sup> mi<sup>1610</sup> yul so<sup>1611</sup> mtshams<sup>1612</sup> 'das dang<sup>1613</sup> 'dra / rgyud kyi don<sup>1614</sup> las<sup>1615</sup> (l.5)  
sdeb<sup>1616</sup> pas lung zhes bya / thams cad byang chub sems dpas<sup>1617</sup> rtse mo ste / mkhas  
pa'i<sup>1618</sup> thugs las brgyud<sup>1619</sup> pas<sup>1620</sup> byung rgyal nyid / byung rgyal nyid na rtse mor<sup>1621</sup>

<sup>1586</sup> VGB /Dg pa.

<sup>1587</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg phyal; Tb /Tk chal.

<sup>1588</sup> VGB /Dg bas; KSG bar; Tb /Tk por.

<sup>1589</sup> VGB gtan.

<sup>1590</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg spangs; Tb /Tk yangs.

<sup>1591</sup> KSG na.

<sup>1592</sup> VGB /Dg sems.

<sup>1593</sup> KSG /Dg gsog; VGB log rtog gsog.

<sup>1594</sup> KSG bden pa'i tshig smras kyang.

<sup>1595</sup> KSG ba'i.

<sup>1596</sup> VGB /Tk /Dg mtsho'i; Tb /Tk mtsho.

<sup>1597</sup> VGB ni.

<sup>1598</sup> KSG ('jug 'dod) rgyal ba nram kyi.

<sup>1599</sup> VGB bka' blus.

<sup>1600</sup> KSG du; VGB omits tu.

<sup>1601</sup> VGB sbyong.

<sup>1602</sup> VGB bdud rtsi de nyid dug tu gyur pa ni. Dg omits this line.

<sup>1603</sup> VGB yag sha; KSG yag shas.

<sup>1604</sup> VGB /Tk /KSG /Dg po; Tb pa'i /Tk po'i.

<sup>1605</sup> KSG glags.

<sup>1606</sup> VGB myur.

<sup>1607</sup> VGB yun.

<sup>1608</sup> VGB bu.

<sup>1609</sup> KSG /Dg dwags.

<sup>1610</sup> VGB rang.

<sup>1611</sup> VGB omits so.

<sup>1612</sup> VGB inserts las.

<sup>1613</sup> Tb /Tk 'das dang; VGB ('das) pa.

<sup>1614</sup> VGB thugs kyi rgyud.

<sup>1615</sup> KSG la.

<sup>1616</sup> VGB /KSG bsdeb; Dg bsnyeg.

<sup>1617</sup> Tk dpa'.

<sup>1618</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg pa'i; Tb /Tk pas.

<sup>1619</sup> VGB /Dg byung; Tk rgyud.

<sup>1620</sup> VGB ba'i; Dg ba.

shar ba yang<sup>1622</sup> / (l.6) rnam grangs rgyan<sup>1623</sup> du<sup>1624</sup> bkod pas 'phreng<sup>1625</sup> ba ste / dbye  
bsal<sup>1626</sup> blang dor med pas dam pa'o<sup>1627</sup> / tshad med<sup>1628</sup> bzhi dang ldan pa'i<sup>1629</sup> rnal 'byor  
pa / bdag dang gzhan don bsgrub<sup>1630</sup> (l.7) par brtson pa'i sems / sbyor sgrol dus ldan  
snying rje'i<sup>1631</sup> gnas rnams la / sems drod<sup>1632</sup> lung nod 'khor dang rdzas la sogs<sup>1633</sup> / phun  
sum tshogs ldan<sup>1634</sup> rgyal ba'i<sup>1635</sup> thugs (**fol.308 v. / p.618**) rje can<sup>1636</sup> / dmigs pa'i don  
du<sup>1637</sup> rtse gcig<sup>1638</sup> mthur<sup>1639</sup> ldan na<sup>1640</sup> / rnal 'byor che mchog grub<sup>1641</sup> pa'i rig 'dzin thob  
/ snying rje med pa'i las kyi<sup>1642</sup> gzhi rnams ni / kun tu bzang (l.2) po'i<sup>1643</sup> tshig tsam smra  
'dra yang<sup>1644</sup> / snying po'i<sup>1645</sup> don las 'gal 'gyur<sup>1646</sup> 'grub mi 'gyur / kun tu bzang mor sbyor  
<sup>1647</sup> ldan dngos grub can / rnal 'byor grub pa'i 'phrin las rgya mtsho (l.3) rnams / skye med  
don dam<sup>1648</sup> kun rdzob rnam par spangs / theg chen spyi blugs<sup>1649</sup> rang bzhin rnal 'byor  
don / lhun grub rdzogs chen sa<sup>1650</sup> rnams kun gyi bla / de ltar shes (l.4) ldan bdud bzhi  
rnam par spangs / kun la<sup>1651</sup> yangs pa'i<sup>1652</sup> sdig 'dzem snying rje bskyed<sup>1653</sup> / khyad par

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<sup>1621</sup> Dg mo.

<sup>1622</sup> KSG omits this line.

<sup>1623</sup> KSG brgyad.

<sup>1624</sup> VGB yon tan grangs su.

<sup>1625</sup> VGB /Dg phreng.

<sup>1626</sup> VGB /Tk /Dg (?) gsal.

<sup>1627</sup> VGB (med pas) bzang po yi; KSG (med pas) dam pa'i lung.

<sup>1628</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg tshad med; Tb /Tk dam tshig.

<sup>1629</sup> KSG /Dg pa'i; VGB /Tb /Tk pas.

<sup>1630</sup> VGB sgrub.

<sup>1631</sup> VGB rje.

<sup>1632</sup> Dg brod (?).

<sup>1633</sup> VGB stsogs.

<sup>1634</sup> KSG /Dg 'dzin.

<sup>1635</sup> KSG /Dg rgyal ba'i; Tb /Tk rgyan pa'i.

<sup>1636</sup> VGB dus gsum tshogs 'dzin rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor can.

<sup>1637</sup> VGB gyis.

<sup>1638</sup> VGB cig.

<sup>1639</sup> Dg khur (?).

<sup>1640</sup> VGB /Dg na; Tb /Tk lnga; KSG pa.

<sup>1641</sup> VGB bsgrub.

<sup>1642</sup> VGB lam gyi.

<sup>1643</sup> VGB /KSG po.

<sup>1644</sup> KSG (tshig tsam) smra 'ang yod; Dg smra 'dra bas.

<sup>1645</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg po'i; Tb /Tk po.

<sup>1646</sup> Dg gyur.

<sup>1647</sup> VGB /KSG /Dg (kun tu bzang) mor sbyor; Tb /Tk por sbyar.

<sup>1648</sup> VGB ma skyes dbyings nas.

<sup>1649</sup> VGB lung.

<sup>1650</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>1651</sup> Tk las.

<sup>1652</sup> VGB pas.

<sup>1653</sup> Tk skyed.

'phags pa'i bsod nams khri phrag<sup>1654</sup> yas<sup>1655</sup> / lta ba dgongs pa'i 'bras bu (l.5) mthar phyin  
yang<sup>1656</sup> / lung dang man ngag nges don gsal bar bya<sup>1657</sup> / byang chub sems<sup>1658</sup> rtse mo  
byung rgyal zhes bya ba bsam gtan<sup>1659</sup> rdzogs so<sup>1660</sup> / /

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<sup>1654</sup> VGB khrag.

<sup>1655</sup> KSG/Dg combine the previous line with this, to read: sdig 'dzem cher (Dg b)skyes bsod nams khri  
phrag yas (Dg las?).

<sup>1656</sup> Dg par.

<sup>1657</sup> Dg inserts rdzogs so. (Dg text concludes here).

<sup>1658</sup> VGB inserts: lta ba mkha' mnyam gyi rgyal po.

<sup>1659</sup> VGB omits: zhes bya ba bsam gtan.

<sup>1660</sup> VGB so ha.

### *Nam mkha'i rgyal po Edition*

Based on version in mTshams brag vol. 1 (Ka), fol. 301r.-303v.1.<sup>1661</sup>

(**fol. 301 r.4 /p.601.4**) bcom ldan 'das dpal kun tu bzang po la phyag 'tshal lo / nam mkha'i rgyal po ye shes chos kyi sku<sup>1662</sup> / sems nyid chos su 'gyur bas bde ba ste<sup>1663</sup> / chos nyid bsam du med pas nam mkha' che / nam mkha' bsam du med pas rgyal ba'i bdag<sup>1664</sup> / bsam du med pa'i<sup>1665</sup> nam mkha' de nyid las<sup>1666</sup> / mi dmigs rgyal ba'i dgongs pa rang la shar<sup>1667</sup> / nam mkha'<sup>1668</sup> mtshan nyid kun las 'das pa ni<sup>1669</sup> / nam mkha' la yang nam mkha' brjod du med<sup>1670</sup> / nam mkha' de nyid bsgom du med pa ni / mi brjod bsam du med pa bsgom pa ste<sup>1671</sup> / brjod dang bsam pa kun las 'das pa ni<sup>1672</sup> / dus gsum rgyal ba'i (**fol. 301v. /p. 602**) dgongs pa de nyid yin<sup>1673</sup> / nam mkha'<sup>1674</sup> lus med nam mkha'<sup>1675</sup> sems dang bral / mnyam dang mi mnyam nam mkhar<sup>1676</sup> brjod las 'das<sup>1677</sup> / nam mkha' med pas nam mkha' khyab pa'ang<sup>1678</sup> med / de nyid mtshan ma<sup>1679</sup> 'di zhes mi nus so / tshig med kun khyab brjod pa'i sgra<sup>1680</sup> dang bral / dge sdig dbus mtha' snying po ga la yod<sup>1681</sup> / yul dang dbang po'i spyod yul med pa la<sup>1682</sup> / rgyu 'bras sgyu ma'i spyod pas

<sup>1661</sup> This edition incorporates the following versions in addition to mTshams brag: gTing skyes vol. Ka pp. 461-464; sDe dge vol. Cha, fols. 89r.-91r. It also occasionally includes readings from Rig 'dzin vol. Ka fol. 81v.-83r.

<sup>1662</sup> sDe dge vol. Cha fol. 89r.7 Dg (ye shes) kyi skal pa dang ldan pa la.

<sup>1663</sup> Dg sems chos nyid du 'gyur bar tshig su bcad de gsungs pa.

<sup>1664</sup> Dg nam mkha'i bsam pa de dag kun dang bral.

<sup>1665</sup> Dg (bsam du med) pas; Tk (and Rig 'dzin) nam mkha' bsam du med pa'i.

<sup>1666</sup> Dg (nam mkha') de dag nyid.

<sup>1667</sup> Dg nam mkhar mi dmigs par yang dmigs su med.

<sup>1668</sup> Dg mkha'i.

<sup>1669</sup> Dg (mtshan nyid kun) la rab 'das pa.

<sup>1670</sup> Dg med pas nam mkha' la yang nam mkha' med.

<sup>1671</sup> Dg brjod med nam mkha' bsgom du med las 'das.

<sup>1672</sup> Dg 'das pa brjod du med de mi gnas na.

<sup>1673</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>1674</sup> Dg mkha'i.

<sup>1675</sup> Dg mkha'i.

<sup>1676</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) mkha'.

<sup>1677</sup> Dg (nam) mkha' las 'das pa.

<sup>1678</sup> Dg omits 'ang.

<sup>1679</sup> Dg (de nyid) mtshon par.

<sup>1680</sup> Dg (kun khyab) sgra med tshig.

<sup>1681</sup> Dg dge sdig snying po med cing dbus mtha' med.

<sup>1682</sup> Dg dbang po rang gi blo med spyod yul bral.

rang rig<sup>1683</sup> 'khrul<sup>1684</sup> / tshig med tshig phyir 'brang ba'i don med pas<sup>1685</sup> / gang dag sgyu  
ma'i 'gro don<sup>1686</sup> spyod pa yang<sup>1687</sup> / cha shas rim par<sup>1688</sup> rtogs<sup>1689</sup> pa skyed pa ni<sup>1690</sup> /  
'og<sup>1691</sup> nas gong du rtsol ba g.yang sa che<sup>1692</sup> / tshig bral de la rtag dang chad med pas<sup>1693</sup>  
/ ting 'dzin che ba'i lung ste nges pa'i don<sup>1694</sup> / ma skyes mi 'gag ye nas mnyam pa la<sup>1695</sup> /  
mtshon du med pa'i thig le rgyal ba'i thugs<sup>1696</sup> / de<sup>1697</sup> la mtshon<sup>1698</sup> phyir<sup>1699</sup> rgyal bas  
gang gsungs pa / mtshon cing<sup>1700</sup> rtogs<sup>1701</sup> par byed pa<sup>1702</sup> de nyid kyang<sup>1703</sup> / tshad mar  
gzung zhing rtogs pa skye mod<sup>1704</sup> kyang<sup>1705</sup> / de bas mtshon med<sup>1706</sup> sems ni<sup>1707</sup> rgyud  
kha 'khor / ting 'dzin bde ba'i ro la chags pa yang<sup>1708</sup> / yod med rgyu la mi<sup>1709</sup> ltos chos  
nyid ni<sup>1710</sup> / <sup>1711</sup>zhi ba'i gnas la mya ngan mi 'da' zhing<sup>1712</sup> / spyod<sup>1713</sup> yul snang ba 'gegs  
pa g.yang sa che<sup>1714</sup> / rang sems ma bcos ye nas<sup>1715</sup> chos nyid la<sup>1716</sup> / ting 'dzin (**fol. 302 r.**

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<sup>1683</sup> Rig 'dzin (rang) gi.

<sup>1684</sup> Dg yul med yul la sgyu mar spyod pa'ang 'khrul.

<sup>1685</sup> Dg chos nyid med de tshig phyir brang ba'ang med.

<sup>1686</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) omit 'gro don (leaving only 7 syllables in this line).

<sup>1687</sup> Dg (gang) zag sgyu mas bkri don bden gnyis med.

<sup>1688</sup> Rig 'dzin: pas.

<sup>1689</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) rtog.

<sup>1690</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>1691</sup> The narō vowel is placed above the letter ga here, reading 'go, an obvious error for 'og, and I have amended accordingly.

<sup>1692</sup> Dg bag tsam gtong sems de dag g.yang sa chod.

<sup>1693</sup> Dg don bral de la sems med chad pa'ang med.

<sup>1694</sup> Dg (nge) don che /

<sup>1695</sup> Dg skye 'gags med pa de nyid nyan pa yin.

<sup>1696</sup> Dg sems med ma skyes don med bral ba yin.

<sup>1697</sup> Dg don.

<sup>1698</sup> Dg brtson.

<sup>1699</sup> Dg par.

<sup>1700</sup> Dg zhing.

<sup>1701</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) rtog.

<sup>1702</sup> Dg (rtogs par) bya ba.

<sup>1703</sup> Dg (de nyid) ni.

<sup>1704</sup> Rig 'dzin: mos.

<sup>1705</sup> Dg (gzung) phyir 'dzin pa de skyes te.

<sup>1706</sup> Dg byed.

<sup>1707</sup> Dg kyi.

<sup>1708</sup> Dg (chags) gnas pa.

<sup>1709</sup> Dg ma.

<sup>1710</sup> Dg yin.

<sup>1711</sup> Dg inserts the line: de bas chags pa'i gnas la ting 'dzin na.

<sup>1712</sup> Dg zhi ba'i sa de mya ngan de mi 'da'.

<sup>1713</sup> Rig 'dzin: yod.

<sup>1714</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>1715</sup> Dg (ma bcos) ma sbyangs.

<sup>1716</sup> Dg de.

/p.603) sgyu ma'i<sup>1717</sup> sbyong ba rtsol ba'i gnad<sup>1718</sup> / rang byung ye shes dbang la mi brten  
pas / re zhing dogs pa'i mtshan ma<sup>1719</sup> rnam par<sup>1720</sup> zhi / nam mkha'i mtha' ltar kun la  
khyab pa na<sup>1721</sup> / byang chub lta ba'i yon tan de nyid de<sup>1722</sup> / mthong thos phyogs las 'das  
pa'i nam mkha' ni<sup>1723</sup> / zhi ba'i gnas la rtag chad ye nas med<sup>1724</sup> / <sup>1725</sup>kun la<sup>1726</sup> khyab pas  
rtag pa'i ngo bor<sup>1727</sup> bral / gcig pas dbyer med tha snyad chad pa med<sup>1728</sup> / skye 'jig  
med<sup>1729</sup> phyir rtag<sup>1730</sup> mtha' ye nas med / sku gsung<sup>1731</sup> thugs las 'das pas<sup>1732</sup> che<sup>1733</sup> ba'i  
mchog / tha tshig yul las 'das pas nyams pa med<sup>1734</sup> / sngags dang phyag rgya bral bas  
'gyur ba<sup>1735</sup> med / <sup>1736</sup>sgo phugs yangs<sup>1737</sup> dog<sup>1738</sup> med pas rgya chen nang pa nyid<sup>1739</sup> /  
phyi nang kun las 'das pas gsang ba'i<sup>1740</sup> snying po nyid<sup>1741</sup> / bde dang sdug bsngal med  
pas mnyam pa'i<sup>1742</sup> snying po nyid<sup>1743</sup> / 'byung 'jug 'jigs pa med pas yangs pas<sup>1744</sup>  
klong<sup>1745</sup> / 'du 'bral dus las 'das pas yangs dog sbyor ba'i<sup>1746</sup> gzungs<sup>1747</sup> / sems nyid chos

<sup>1717</sup> Dg mas.

<sup>1718</sup> Dg (sbyong) na rgyu ma'i nad / Tk (and Rig 'dzin) rtsol ba gnang (? gnad?).

<sup>1719</sup> Dg (dogs pa'i) mtha' kun.

<sup>1720</sup> Tk pa.

<sup>1721</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) ni / Dg (nam mkha'i) mtha' kun med de phyogs med na.

<sup>1722</sup> Dg zhi dang ma zhi med de chos (?) mams bral. This line occurs in the DZP, with variant phyogs mams bral).

<sup>1723</sup> Dg ye nas dag dang ma dag zhi ba'ang med. This line occurs in the DZP, with variant ending gang yang med).

<sup>1724</sup> Dg zhi bas dag (?) med thog ma mtha' las 'das. This line occurs in the DZP as follows: zhi bas sgra med rtog pa'i mtha' las 'das.

<sup>1725</sup> Dg inserts the following: re med thob med dogs med mthong ba'ang med / dag dang ma dag ye shes tshig mtha' bral / tshig tu 'dzin med ye nas ye shes bden / tshig dang du ma zhi bas rang bzhin med / 'di thos mi sngangs gad (gang?) mos nam mkha' che / dngos po med phyir zhi bas chags pa'ang med.

<sup>1726</sup> Dg tu.

<sup>1727</sup> Dg bo.

<sup>1728</sup> Dg rtag chad dbyer med snang thos (?) kun med do.

<sup>1729</sup> Dg 'byung.

<sup>1730</sup> Dg bdag.

<sup>1731</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin). /Dg gsung; Tb gsum.

<sup>1732</sup> Dg dang bral bas.

<sup>1733</sup> Dg bde.

<sup>1734</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>1735</sup> Dg (bral bas) nyams pa.

<sup>1736</sup> At this point, the mTsham brag text switches to lines of 11 syllables each, for the next nine lines.

<sup>1737</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) yang.

<sup>1738</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) dogs.

<sup>1739</sup> Dg phyi nang sgo phug bral bas rgya che nyid.

<sup>1740</sup> Dg dbus mtha' kun dang bral bas.

<sup>1741</sup> Rig dzin: snying po de (?).

<sup>1742</sup> Rig 'dzin: mnyam po.

<sup>1743</sup> Dg bde dang mi bde mnyam nyid ye nas med. This line occurs in the DZP.

<sup>1744</sup> Tk omits yangs pas (leaving a line of only 7 syllables). Rig 'dzin also omits.

<sup>1745</sup> Dg 'dzin med blo ni gang du'ang mi skye na. (line found in DZP).

<sup>1746</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) (yangs dog) sbyor ba'i; Tb sbyin pa'i.



kyi <sup>1748</sup> dbyings pas thams cad nam mkha'i sku<sup>1749</sup> / rnam rtog grangs las 'das pas ye shes  
 chen po'i zhal<sup>1750</sup> / gdod nas zhi bas 'od gsal lhun gyis grub pa la<sup>1751</sup> / snying po byang  
 chub don la cis kyang bcos su med<sup>1752</sup> / <sup>1753</sup> gyur med chags pa'i yul las (**fol. 302 v.**  
**/p.604**) 'das pa la<sup>1754</sup> / sangs rgyas ye shes ngo bor mtshon du med<sup>1755</sup> / 'byung 'jug med  
 pas dbang po'i<sup>1756</sup> yul las 'das<sup>1757</sup> / <sup>1758</sup> mtshan ma<sup>1759</sup> 'jil ba'i sku ni mi gnas ye nas dag<sup>1760</sup>  
 / bza' ba'i yul med btsal<sup>1761</sup> ba'i<sup>1762</sup> dbang pos stong<sup>1763</sup> / thams cad ro gcig dbyer med bde  
 ba'i dbyings<sup>1764</sup> / <sup>1765</sup> dus gsum mnyam pa nyid la 'byung 'jug med<sup>1766</sup> / mi len 'dzin dang  
 ye nas bral ba la<sup>1767</sup> / kun gyi bdag nyid dus gsum dbyings mi g.yo<sup>1768</sup> / kun nas phyogs  
 cha med par gnas pa ni<sup>1769</sup> / dus gsum bdag nyid rdo rje sems dpa' che<sup>1770</sup> / lta ba 'di med  
 spyod pa<sup>1771</sup> sgyu mas<sup>1772</sup> bcings<sup>1773</sup> / <sup>1774</sup> phyin ci log dang ma log byang chub ste / rnam  
 rtog gnyis kyi mtha' las 'das pa ni<sup>1775</sup> / bsam dang bral ba'i byang chub sems chen po<sup>1776</sup> /  
 nam mkha' lta bu'i byang chub sems nyid ni<sup>1777</sup> / yod med dbu mar<sup>1778</sup> mi dmigs brjod du

<sup>1747</sup> Dg bral dang mi bral dngos med gzung du med / (found in DZP).

<sup>1748</sup> Rig 'dzin inserts what looks like an extra chos here.

<sup>1749</sup> Dg sems nyid chos pas sems la sku mi mnga'.

<sup>1750</sup> Dg sgra las 'das pas sgra nyid ye shes ste.

<sup>1751</sup> Dg zhi ba'i 'od gsal gdod nas lhun gyis grub.

<sup>1752</sup> Dg byang chub sems can don ni bcos su med.

<sup>1753</sup> Here mTshams brag switches back to 9 syllable lines.

<sup>1754</sup> Dg mi gnas 'gyur ba chags pa'i yul med de.

<sup>1755</sup> Dg mi 'gyur sangs rgyas ye shes ngo bo med.

<sup>1756</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) po'i; Tb po.

<sup>1757</sup> Dg mi 'byung mi 'jug yul med dbang po ste.

<sup>1758</sup> A single 11 syllable line.

<sup>1759</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) omit ma.

<sup>1760</sup> Dg (mtshan ma 'jil ba'i sku) med dag (?) bstan stong.

<sup>1761</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) omit btsal.

<sup>1762</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) pa'i

<sup>1763</sup> Dg omits this line (which is the sole STMG citation of the Byang chub sems tig).

<sup>1764</sup> Dg ro gcig bde na dbyings su rol (?) pa yang.

<sup>1765</sup> Dg inserts: dbyer med bde la chags dang mi bral na.

<sup>1766</sup> Dg (mnyam pa nyid) kyang 'byung 'jug go.

<sup>1767</sup> Dg len med 'dzin dang yongs su bral bas na.

<sup>1768</sup> Dg reverses the order of two lines in the mTshams brag edition and omits the intervening line altogether. It reads: dus gsum bdag nyid rdo rje sems dpa' che.

<sup>1769</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>1770</sup> Dg reverses the order of two mTshams brag lines, see note above. It reads: kun gyi bdag nyid dus gsum dbyings mi g.yo.

<sup>1771</sup> Dg pa'i.

<sup>1772</sup> Dg ma.

<sup>1773</sup> Dg 'ching.

<sup>1774</sup> Dg inserts: lta ba 'dis ma zin na 'khor ba las mi 'da'.

<sup>1775</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>1776</sup> Dg (bral ba'i) sems de nam mkha' nyid.

<sup>1777</sup> Dg nam mkha' 'dra ba'i sems de nyid dang bral /

med<sup>1779</sup> / nam mkha' tsam du'ang<sup>1780</sup> brjod du med pa la<sup>1781</sup> / tshig dang nam mkha' su yis  
tshig tu brjod<sup>1782</sup> / sems dang tshig las 'das pa'i sbyor ba ni<sup>1783</sup> / mngon sum mi gnas ye  
nas<sup>1784</sup> stong pas dben / ye shes de nyid kun tu gsal ba na<sup>1785</sup> / thams cad rnam par dag par  
gcig pa'i phyir<sup>1786</sup> / las dang mtshan nyid so sor ma nges pas<sup>1787</sup> / gcig dang du ma'i mtha'  
las 'das pa'o<sup>1788</sup> / chos kyi dbyings nyid yul (**fol. 303 r. /p.605**) las 'das mod kyang<sup>1789</sup> /  
'dzin pa med pa'i mtshan nyid kun la bkra<sup>1790</sup> / gzugs kyi mtshan nyid ye nas mthong ba  
gang<sup>1791</sup> / rtog pa'i mtshan nyid med na dmigs pa gang<sup>1792</sup> / <sup>1793</sup>gzha'<sup>1794</sup> tshon sgyu  
mas<sup>1795</sup> 'phags pa'i sku<sup>1796</sup> bskyed<sup>1797</sup> de<sup>1798</sup> / bsti gnas sgyu mas re ba'i rtsol ba yang<sup>1799</sup> /  
rnam dag lam chen lhun gyis grub pa la / bsod nams med kyang 'grub ces rgyal bas  
gsungs / chos kyi dbyings ni mi bskyod gnas<sup>1800</sup> che ba / kun la<sup>1801</sup> khyab pas<sup>1802</sup> sgra  
med tshig<sup>1803</sup> las<sup>1804</sup> 'das / sprul pa mang po rgya mtsho'i tshogs chen gyis<sup>1805</sup> / bya med  
don las rdul tsam bskyod mi nus<sup>1806</sup> / zhi la<sup>1807</sup> phra ste mngon du rnyed pa dka' 'o<sup>1808</sup> /

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<sup>1778</sup> Dg (dbu) ma'ang.

<sup>1779</sup> Dg (brjod) med na.

<sup>1780</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin)omit 'ang.

<sup>1781</sup> Dg nam mkha' mi gnas brjod du med las 'das.

<sup>1782</sup> Dg sems la tshig tu brjod med sku yang med.

<sup>1783</sup> Dg sems nyid tshig las 'das pas sbyor bas na.

<sup>1784</sup> Dg (mi gnas) mi 'brang.

<sup>1785</sup> Dg (de nyid) bsam las 'das zhes 'byung.

<sup>1786</sup> Dg ye shes rnam par dag pas gcig phyir te.

<sup>1787</sup> Dg grol ba'i lam ni mtshan nyid yod ma yin.

<sup>1788</sup> Dg ( 'das pa) ni.

<sup>1789</sup> Dg (chos kyi dbyings) kyi mtshan nyid bkri ba med.

<sup>1790</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>1791</sup> Dg (gzugs kyi mtshan nyid) med na bkri ba gang.

<sup>1792</sup> Dg sgra dang rtogs pa'i ngang du ma grub na.

<sup>1793</sup> Dg inserts two lines here: thos pa lam gyi smon lam de gang la / mi rtog chos sku gcig pas ci zhes bya.

<sup>1794</sup> Dg 'ja'.

<sup>1795</sup> Dg mar.

<sup>1796</sup> Dg skur.

<sup>1797</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) skyed.

<sup>1798</sup> Dg kyang.

<sup>1799</sup> Dg omits this line. Instead it reads: bsod nams bskyed kyang sgyu ma mi rtag na.

<sup>1800</sup> Dg (chos kyi dbyings) na ma bskyed (?) gcig.

<sup>1801</sup> Dg tu? la?

<sup>1802</sup> Dg pa'i.

<sup>1803</sup> Dg nyid.

<sup>1804</sup> Rig 'dzin repeats the word las.

<sup>1805</sup> Dg sprul pa bye ba brgya mang tshogs chen yang.

<sup>1806</sup> Dg bya byed ngang la 'dul bar mi nus bzhin.

<sup>1807</sup> Rig 'dzin: (zhi) ba.

<sup>1808</sup> Dg zhi ba lta ste mngon sum rnyed dka' ba.

rtog ge spyod yul 'khrul las<sup>1809</sup> shes mi nus<sup>1810</sup> / bskyod dang mi bskyod rtog pa med pa  
 ni<sup>1811</sup> / mtshan nyid nam<sup>1812</sup> mkha' las kyang 'das pa'o / ye nas lhun gyis grub pa'i thabs  
 chen la / rgyu bcos rtog pas grub par mi 'gyur te<sup>1813</sup> / spyod pa'i sgo dang mtha' las 'das pa  
 la<sup>1814</sup> / log rtog 'khrul pas bsrung du ga la yod<sup>1815</sup> / mtshan nyid med pa'i thig le<sup>1816</sup> chen  
 po ni<sup>1817</sup> / sprul pa sgyu ma tsam du snang ba yang<sup>1818</sup> / chos nyid dbyings las dbye  
 bsal<sup>1819</sup> mi 'jug pas<sup>1820</sup> / sgyu ma'i lam du rgyal bas yongs ma bsngags<sup>1821</sup> / mi gnas chos  
 sku brjod las 'das pa ni<sup>1822</sup> / dbu ma tsam du'ang<sup>1823</sup> (**fol. 303 v. /p.606**) ye nas mi gnas  
 pas<sup>1824</sup> / de<sup>1825</sup> bzhin bde ba'i ye shes<sup>1826</sup> mtha' klags<sup>1827</sup> kyang<sup>1828</sup> / snang dang brjod pa'i  
 mtha' las 'das pa'o<sup>1829</sup> / <sup>1830</sup>byang chub sems nam mkha'i rgyal po rdzogs so /

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<sup>1809</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) pas.

<sup>1810</sup> Dg rtog ge'i yul min 'khrul pas shes mi nus.

<sup>1811</sup> Dg spyod par (? sbyong bar?) mi spyod sgyu ma mi rtag yin.

<sup>1812</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) omit nam.

<sup>1813</sup> Dg sgyu bcos spyod (?) la (?) thabs chen ma yin te.

<sup>1814</sup> Dg omits this line, instead reading: sgyu 'chang thabs kyis bcos dang ma bral na.

<sup>1815</sup> Dg mi rtog thabs chen de yis ci zhig bya.

<sup>1816</sup> Dg chos nyid.

<sup>1817</sup> Dg 'di.

<sup>1818</sup> Dg omits; reading instead: chos kyi dbyings la (?) sgyu ma'i gar bsgyur kyang.

<sup>1819</sup> Tk brtsal; Rig 'dzin brtsal (?).

<sup>1820</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>1821</sup> Dg (rgyal bas) ma bsngags kyang.

<sup>1822</sup> Dg (brjod) med las 'das kyang.

<sup>1823</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) omit 'ang.

<sup>1824</sup> Dg dbu ma'ang brjod (?) du med de don dang bral.

<sup>1825</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) yid.

<sup>1826</sup> Tk omits ye shes. (Rig 'dzin does not omit ye shes).

<sup>1827</sup> Tk (and Rig 'dzin) klas.

<sup>1828</sup> Dg yid bzhin ye shes dbyings kyi mtha' klas pa.

<sup>1829</sup> Dg snang med brjod pa med pa las 'das pa'o.

<sup>1830</sup> Dg inserts: chos kyi dbyings las yang dag don bstan te / ye shes nam mkha'i rgyal po 'di bstan pas / the tshom med pa'i blo mchog rnams kyis ni / gnyis med byang chub snying po rtogs gyur cig / rdzogs so / chos kyi dbyings las bsdu te rnam bshad pa / skal ldan skyes bu the tshom med pas bsgrub / grol zhing rtogs pa'i blo ldan rnams kyis brtson pas nyon / yang dag pa'i ye shes kyi dbyings las / bde ba chen por rol pa a ti yo ga'i mdo'o.

## Nam mkha'i rgyal po Edition

### sDe dge version

(Vol. Cha, fols. 89r.7-91r.)

**bcom ldan 'das dpal kun tu bzang po la phyag 'tshal lo / nam mkha'i rgyal po ye shes (fol. 89v.) kyi skal pa dang ldan pa la / sems chos nyid du 'gyur bar tshig su bcad de gsungs pa**<sup>1831</sup> / <sup>1832</sup>*chos nyid bsam du med pas nam mkha' che / nam mkha'i*<sup>1833</sup> *bsam pa de dag kun dang bral / bsam du med pas nam mkha' de dag nyid*<sup>1834</sup> / *nam mkhar mi dmigs par*<sup>1835</sup> *yang (2) dmigs su med / nam mkha'i*<sup>1836</sup> *mtshan nyid kun las rab 'das pa / med pas nam mkha' la yang nam mkha' med / nam mkha' de nyid bsgom du med pa*<sup>1837</sup> *ni*<sup>1838</sup> / *brjod med nam mkha'*<sup>1839</sup> *bsgom du med las*<sup>1840</sup> *'das / 'das pa brjod du med de mi gnas na / nam mkha'i lus (3) med nam mkha'i sems dang bral / mnyam dang mi mnyam nam mkha' las 'das pa / nam mkha' med pas nam mkha' khyab pa med / de*<sup>1841</sup> *nyid mtshon par*<sup>1842</sup> *'di zhes mi nus so /*<sup>1843</sup> *tshig med kun khyab*<sup>1844</sup> *sgra med tshig dang bral / dge sdig snying po med cing*<sup>1845</sup> *dbus mtha' med*<sup>1846</sup> / *dbang (4) po rang gi blo med spyod yul bral / yul med yul la sgyu mar spyod pa'ang 'khrul*<sup>1847</sup> / *chos*<sup>1848</sup> *nyid med de tshig phyir brang ba'ang med / gang zag sgyu mas*<sup>1849</sup> *bkri don bden gnyis med / bag tsam*

<sup>1831</sup> Text absent from the DZP is shown in bold.

<sup>1832</sup> Text shown in italics in quoted in the bSam gtan mig sgron (STMG).

<sup>1833</sup> DZP 397.4 mkha.

<sup>1834</sup> NGDD (nam mkha') bsam pa dag; STMG 415.4 (nam mkha') bsam pa dang; DZP 397.5 (nam mkha') de nyid 'byung.

<sup>1835</sup> DZP 396.2 (nam mkhar mi) gcig pa.

<sup>1836</sup> DZP 396.3 mkha'; NGDD 3r.6 ka.

<sup>1837</sup> STMG 415.5 (bsgom du med) pas.

<sup>1838</sup> DZP 396.5 ste..

<sup>1839</sup> STMG 415.6 mkha'i

<sup>1840</sup> NGDD 3v.3 pas (pas added in different hand in right margin).

<sup>1841</sup> NGDD chos.

<sup>1842</sup> DZP 395.2 pas.

<sup>1843</sup> NGDD omits this line.

<sup>1844</sup> DZP 395.3 (tshig med) tshig kun.

<sup>1845</sup> DZP 395.4 de.

<sup>1846</sup> DZP 395.4 (dbus mtha') kun dang bral.

<sup>1847</sup> NGDD: yul med sgyu ma yul la spyod pas 'khrul. DZP agrees with NGDD, with 1 variant (spyad).

<sup>1848</sup> NGDD and DZP 396.1: tshig.

<sup>1849</sup> STMG 366.5, NGDD and DZP 393.4 ma.

gtong<sup>1850</sup> sems de dag g.yang sa chod<sup>1851</sup> /don bral de la sems med chad pa'ang<sup>1852</sup> med /  
 (5) ting 'dzin che ba'i lung ste nges don che<sup>1853</sup> / skye 'gags<sup>1854</sup> med pa de nyid nyan pa  
 yin / sems med ma skyes don med bral ba yin<sup>1855</sup> / don la brtson par rgyal bas gang  
 gsungs pa /mtshon zhing rtogs par bya ba de nyid ni<sup>1856</sup> / tshad mar<sup>1857</sup> gzung phyir 'dzin  
 pa de skyes te / de bas (6) mtshon byed sems kyi rgyud kha<sup>1858</sup> 'khor / ting 'dzin bde ba'i  
 ro la chags<sup>1859</sup> gnas<sup>1860</sup> pa<sup>1861</sup> / yod<sup>1862</sup> med rgyu la ma<sup>1863</sup> ltos<sup>1864</sup> chos nyid yin / de bas  
 chags pa'i gnas la ting 'dzin na / zhi ba'i sa de<sup>1865</sup> mya ngan de<sup>1866</sup> mi 'da<sup>1867</sup> / rang sems  
 ma bcos ma sbyangs chos nyid de / ting 'dzin (7) sgyu mas sbyong na<sup>1868</sup> rgyu ma'i nad /  
 rang byung ye shes dbang la mi brten pas / re zhing dogs pa'i mtha' kun rnam par zhi /  
 nam mkha'i mtha' kun med de phyogs med na / zhi dang ma zhi med de chos<sup>1869</sup> rnam  
 bral / ye nas dag dang ma dag zhi ba'ang<sup>1870</sup> med / zhi bas dag<sup>1871</sup> med (**fol. 90r.**) thog  
 ma<sup>1872</sup> mtha' las 'das / re med thob med<sup>1873</sup> dogs med mthong ba'ang med<sup>1874</sup> / dag dang  
 ma dag ye shes tshig mtha' bral / tshig tu 'dzin med ye nas ye shes<sup>1875</sup> bden<sup>1876</sup> / tshig<sup>1877</sup>

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<sup>1850</sup> NGDD gtod.

<sup>1851</sup> NGDD and DZP (393.5) che.

<sup>1852</sup> NGDD omits 'ang.

<sup>1853</sup> NGDD and DZP 394.1 ting 'dzin che ba'i lung de don bral che.

<sup>1854</sup> DZP (394.1) ba.

<sup>1855</sup> NGDD (bral ba) med; DZP (bral ba'ang) med.

<sup>1856</sup> DZP 394.4 (de nyid) do.

<sup>1857</sup> DZP 392.3 mas.

<sup>1858</sup> NGDD la.

<sup>1859</sup> STMG 432.1 inserts shad at this point, leaving this line short of two syllables and the next one 2 syllables too long.

<sup>1860</sup> NGDD omits gnas (leaving only 8 syllables in this line).

<sup>1861</sup> DZP 392.6 (gnas pa) 'o.

<sup>1862</sup> STMG 432.1 g.yo.

<sup>1863</sup> NGDD and DZP 392.6 mi.

<sup>1864</sup> STMG 432.1 (rgyu la) mi gnas.

<sup>1865</sup> NGDD ste; DZP 393.1-2 (zhi ba'i) ting 'dzin.

<sup>1866</sup> DZP 393.1-2 omits de.

<sup>1867</sup> DZP 393.2 inserts yis.

<sup>1868</sup> DZP 391.1 (sgyu mas) spyod pa.

<sup>1869</sup> NGDD chos; unclear in Dg; DZP 391.5 phyogs.

<sup>1870</sup> DZP 391.6 (ma dag) gang yang med.

<sup>1871</sup> Dg unclear; NGDD /DZP 391.6 sgra.

<sup>1872</sup> DZP 392.1 rtogs pa'i.

<sup>1873</sup> NGDD omits thob med.

<sup>1874</sup> DZP 389.6 thos med mthong med re med dogs pa med.

<sup>1875</sup> DZP 390.1 inverts order: ye shes ye nas.

<sup>1876</sup> NGDD /DZP 390.1 dben.

<sup>1877</sup> NGDD /DZP 384.5 /STMG (370.6-371.1) gcig; Dg tshig.

dang du ma zhi bas (2) rang bzhin med<sup>1878</sup> / **'di thos mi sngangs<sup>1879</sup> gang mos nam mkha' che<sup>1880</sup>** / dngos po med phyir zhi bas chags<sup>1881</sup> pa'ang med / kun tu<sup>1882</sup> khyab pas rtag pa'i ngo bo bral<sup>1883</sup> / rtag chad dbyer<sup>1884</sup> med snang thos<sup>1885</sup> kun med do / skye 'jig 'byung phyir bdag (3) mtha' ye nas med / *sku gsung thugs dang bral bas bde<sup>1886</sup> ba'i mchog / sngags dang phyag rgya bral bas<sup>1887</sup> nyams pa med / phyi nang sgo phug bral bas<sup>1888</sup> rgya che nyid<sup>1889</sup> / dbus mtha'<sup>1890</sup> kun dang bral bas snying po<sup>1891</sup> nyid / bde dang mi bde* (4) mnyam nyid<sup>1892</sup> ye nas med / 'dzin med blo ni gang du'ang<sup>1893</sup> mi skye na / bral dang mi<sup>1894</sup> bral dngos med gzung du med / sems nyid chos pas sems la sku mi mnga' / sgra<sup>1895</sup> las 'das pas sgra<sup>1896</sup> nyid ye shes ste / zhi ba'i 'od gsal gdod (5) nas lhun gyis grub / **byang chub sems can don ni bcos su med / mi gnas<sup>1897</sup> 'gyur ba<sup>1898</sup> chags pa'i yul med de** / mi 'gyur sangs rgyas ye shes ngo bo med<sup>1899</sup> / *mi 'byung mi 'jug yul med dbang po ste<sup>1900</sup> / mtshan ma 'jil ba'i* (6) sku med dag bstan stong<sup>1901</sup> / **ro gcig bde na<sup>1902</sup> dbyings su rol pa yang<sup>1903</sup> / dbyer med bde la chags dang mi bral na / dus gsum mnyam pa nyid kyang 'byung 'jug go** / len med 'dzin dang yongs su bral bas na / dus gsum (7) bdag<sup>1904</sup> nyid rdo rje sems dpa' che / kun gyi bdag nyid dus gsum dbyings mi g.yo /

<sup>1878</sup> DZP 384.5 (du ma)'i mtha' las 'das pa ni.

<sup>1879</sup> NGDD sdang.

<sup>1880</sup> NGDD ni; DZP omits line.

<sup>1881</sup> NGDD /DZP 390.4 chad.

<sup>1882</sup> NGDD /DZP la.

<sup>1883</sup> DZP 390.5 (khyab pas) bdag dang bral ba'o.

<sup>1884</sup> DZP 390.3 'byed.

<sup>1885</sup> Dg unclear; NGDD /DZP 390.3 stong.

<sup>1886</sup> NGDD /DZP 388.6 che.

<sup>1887</sup> NGDD /DZP yang.

<sup>1888</sup> DZP 389.1 med pas.

<sup>1889</sup> NGDD (rgya) chen nang pa nyid; DZP 389.1 /STMG (366.5) (rgya) che nang pa nyid.

<sup>1890</sup> NGDD /DZP 389.2 mtha' dbus.

<sup>1891</sup> NGDD stong pa.

<sup>1892</sup> DZP 389.3 (mnyam) pa.

<sup>1893</sup> DZP 389.4 gang dang'ang (sic).

<sup>1894</sup> NGDD /DZP 389.4 ma.

<sup>1895</sup> DZP 387.5 grags.

<sup>1896</sup> DZP 387.5 grags.

<sup>1897</sup> NGDD omits mi gnas.

<sup>1898</sup> NGDD bas.

<sup>1899</sup> NGDD mi 'gyur ye shes ngo be med ces bya; DZP 388.2 sangs rgyas ye shes ngo bo med zhes bya.

<sup>1900</sup> NGDD (mi 'byung mi 'jug) bdag med dbang pos ston / DZP gives last syllable as stong.

<sup>1901</sup> DZP 386.6 (sku med) dag pas na.

<sup>1902</sup> NGDD (bde) ba'i.

<sup>1903</sup> NGDD dang.

<sup>1904</sup> NGDD (dus gsum) mnyam nyid.

*lta ba 'di med spyod pa'i sgyu ma 'ching*<sup>1905</sup> / *lta ba 'dis ma zin na 'khor ba las mi 'da'*<sup>1906</sup> / phyin ci log dang ma log byang chub ste / byang chub (fol. 90v.) nyid la log dang ma log med/bsam dang bral ba'i sems de nam mkha' nyid / nam mkha' 'dra ba'i sems de nyid dang bral / yod med dbu ma'ang<sup>1907</sup> mi dmigs brjod med na / nam mkha' mi gnas brjod du med las 'das / (2) sems la tshig tu brjod med sku yang med / <sup>1908</sup>**sams nyid tshig las 'das pas sbyor bas na / mngon sum mi gnas mi 'brang**<sup>1909</sup> **stong pas dben / ye shes de nyid bsam las 'das zhes 'byung** / ye shes rnam par dag pas gcig (3) phyir te / grol ba'i lam<sup>1910</sup> ni mtshan nyid yod ma yin / gcig dang du ma'i mtha' las 'das pa ni / chos kyi dbyings kyi mtshan nyid bkri ba<sup>1911</sup> med / <sup>1912</sup>**gzugs kyi mtshan nyid med na bkri**<sup>1913</sup> **ba gang / sgra dang rtogs**<sup>1914</sup> **pa'i ngang du ma** (4) **grub na / thos pa lam gyi smon lam de gang la / mi rtog chos sku gcig pas ci zhes**<sup>1915</sup> **bya / 'ja'**<sup>1916</sup> **tshon sgyu mar 'phags pa'i skur bskyed**<sup>1917</sup> **kyang / bsod nams bskyed kyang sgyu ma mi rtag na**<sup>1918</sup> / **rnam dag lam chen lhun gyis grub pa** (5) **la / bsod nams med kyang 'grub ces rgyal bas gsungs / chos kyi dbyings na ma bskyed**<sup>1919</sup> **gcig che ba / kun tu**<sup>1920</sup> **khyab pa'i sgra med nyid las 'das / sprul pa bye ba brgya mang tshogs chen yang / bya byed**<sup>1921</sup> **ngang la 'dul bar**<sup>1922</sup> **mi** (6) **nus bzhin / zhi ba lta**<sup>1923</sup> **ste mngon sum rnyed dka' ba / rtog ge'i yul**

<sup>1905</sup> NGDD (and DZP 385.3) spyod pa sgyu mas 'ching.

<sup>1906</sup> An 11 syllable line which is not in the DZP. (However, it matches the STMG quotation almost exactly). In NGDD *lta ba 'dis* is separated by a shad from the phrase *ma zin 'khor ba las mi 'da'* / This may indicate an awareness on the redactor's part of the excess syllable count in the line, even though it has one less than in sDe dge.

<sup>1907</sup> NGDD dbu ma.

<sup>1908</sup> This and the two following lines (up to ...zhes 'byung) are not found in the DZP.

<sup>1909</sup> NGDD (mngon sum) gyi dmigs mi 'byung.

<sup>1910</sup> DZP (384.4) grol ba'i las ni mtshan nyid yod ma yin; NGDD grol ba'i lam gyi mtshan nyid sdom ma yin. STMG (370.6) grol ba'i lam nyid yod ma yin.

<sup>1911</sup> NGDD bkra ba'ang. (DZP and STMG also have bkra ba, not bkri ba).

<sup>1912</sup> The DZP does not include any further text from here on, with the exception of (383.1) yid bzhin ye shes dbyings kyi mtha' khyab pa.

<sup>1913</sup> NGDD bkra ba.

<sup>1914</sup> NGDD rtog.

<sup>1915</sup> NGDD zhig.

<sup>1916</sup> NGDD gzhi.

<sup>1917</sup> NGDD ('phags pa'i) sku brgyud. This exactly matches the STMG quotation.

<sup>1918</sup> NGDD (bskyed kyang) sgyu mar mi rtag na. This exactly matches the STMG quotation.

<sup>1919</sup> Dg unclear; NGDD mi bskyod.

<sup>1920</sup> NGDD las.

<sup>1921</sup> NGDD bya med.

<sup>1922</sup> NGDD gdul bya'i.

<sup>1923</sup> NGDD zhi la 'phra.

min<sup>1924</sup> 'khrul pas shes mi nus / sbyong bar<sup>1925</sup> mi spyod sgyu ma mi rtag yin<sup>1926</sup>  
 /mtshan nyid nam mkha' las kyang 'das pa'o / *ye nas lhun gyis grub* (7) *pa'i thabs*  
*chen la / sgyu bcos spyod la* <sup>1927</sup> *thabs chen ma yin te / sgyu 'chang thabs kyis*<sup>1928</sup> *bcos*  
*dang ma bral na / mi rtog thabs chen*<sup>1929</sup> *de yis ci zhig bya / mtshan nyid*<sup>1930</sup> *med pa'i*  
*chos nyid chen po 'di /* <sup>1931</sup> *chos kyi dbyings* (fol 91r.) *la sgyu ma'i gar*<sup>1932</sup> *bsgyur*  
*kyang*<sup>1933</sup> / *sgyu ma'i lam du rgyal bas ma bsngags kyang*<sup>1934</sup> / *mi gnas chos sku brjod*  
*med las 'das kyang*<sup>1935</sup> / *dbu*<sup>1936</sup> *ma'ang brjod du med de*<sup>1937</sup> *don dang bral / yid*  
*bzhin* (2) *ye shes dbyings kyi mtha' klas pa*<sup>1938</sup> / *snang med brjod pa*<sup>1939</sup> *med pa las 'das*  
*pa'o /*

<sup>1940</sup>chos kyi dbyings las yang dag don bstan te / ye shes nam mkha'i rgyal po 'di  
 bstan pas / the tshom med pa'i blo mchog rnam kyis ni / (3) gnyis med byang chub  
 snying po rtogs gyur cig / rdzogs so /

chos kyi dbyings las bsdu te rnam bshad pa<sup>1941</sup> / skal ldan skyes bu the tshom med  
 pas bsgrub<sup>1942</sup> / <sup>1943</sup>grol zhing rtogs pa'i blo ldan rnam kyis brtson pas (4) nyon /

<sup>1924</sup> NGDD med.

<sup>1925</sup> Dg unclear; possibly spyod par.

<sup>1926</sup> NGDD bskyod dang mi skyod sgyu ma mi rtog min.

<sup>1927</sup> Dg spyod la (? illegible); NGDD sgyu bcos sbyong ba; STMG has spyod pa.

<sup>1928</sup> NGDD kyi.

<sup>1929</sup> NGDD mi rtag thams cad.

<sup>1930</sup> NGDD (mtshan) ma.

<sup>1931</sup> NGDD has an extra line here: chos kyi dbyings las sgyu ma'i mtshan nyid min.

<sup>1932</sup> NGDD sgyu mar gang.

<sup>1933</sup> NGDD yang.

<sup>1934</sup> NGDD (rgyal bas) ma gsungs so.

<sup>1935</sup> NGDD ('das) pa.

<sup>1936</sup> NGDD dbu.

<sup>1937</sup> NGDD omits de.

<sup>1938</sup> NGDD pas.

<sup>1939</sup> NGDD du.

<sup>1940</sup> NGDD does not include this passage (up to rdzogs so).

<sup>1941</sup> NGDD chos kyi dbyings su rab bshad pa.

<sup>1942</sup> NGDD 'grub.

<sup>1943</sup> The DZP places this line immediately after that beginning yid bzhin ye shes (383.1-2). There it reads:  
 grol zhing rtogs te don ldan brtson pas nyon. The DZP version has the usual 9 syllables, as opposed to 11 in  
 Dg. The NGDD also has 9 syllables, by the omission of brtson pas.



yang dag pa'i ye shes kyi dbyings las / bde ba chen por<sup>1944</sup> rol pa <sup>1945</sup>a ti yo ga'i  
mdo'o /

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<sup>1944</sup> NGDD (bde ba) chen po'i

<sup>1945</sup> NGDD inserts lta ba.

## ***bDe ba phra bkod Edition***

Based on version in mTshams brag (Tb.31), Vol. Ka, fol. 311r.3-312v.3.<sup>1946</sup>

Vol. Ka, fol. 311r.3

rgya gar skad du / su kha pra (pa+ra?) ka te<sup>1947</sup> / bod skad du / bde ba phra<sup>1948</sup> bkod<sup>1949</sup> /  
bcom ldan 'das dpal kun (l.4) tu bzang po la phyag 'tshal lo / sems la mtha' dang<sup>1950</sup> dbus  
med pas /<sup>1951</sup> phyi dang nang med ye shes ma bral te<sup>1952</sup> / sems la spong<sup>1953</sup> len med pas  
bde ba<sup>1954</sup> phra<sup>1955</sup> 1956 bkod pa'o / (l.5) ma btsal lhun gyis grub pa'i don de la<sup>1957</sup> / skye  
med ngang la<sup>1958</sup> gnas pas bde ba<sup>1959</sup> phra<sup>1960</sup> bkod pa'o / skye ba med pa'i byang chub  
sams chen<sup>1961</sup> la / rdzogs pa'i yang rdzogs<sup>1962</sup> (l.6) bde ba'i klong na 'phyo / rten pa'i gnas  
med chags pa'i yul dang bral / 'khor ba med pa'i don de phra<sup>1963</sup> bkod pa'o / bsgrub<sup>1964</sup>  
tu<sup>1965</sup> 1966 med pas 'bras bu lhun gyis grub / (l.7) bsgrub tu<sup>1967</sup> med pas lha rnam mya  
ngan 'das / mtshon du med pas yi ge<sup>1968</sup> bkri ru med / gdags<sup>1969</sup> skyed<sup>1970</sup> kun dang bral  
bas<sup>1971</sup> bde ba rang la snang / mi skye gdeng du<sup>1972</sup> chud pas (**fol. 311v.**) 'du 'bral ye nas

<sup>1946</sup> This edition incorporates the following versions in addition to mTshams brag: gTing skyes vol Ka, (Tk 30) fol. 26r.-27r; sDe dge vol. Cha (6), fol. 96r.7-97r.5; Vairo rgyud 'bum, vol.1 fol. 463-467.

<sup>1947</sup> There is a possibility that this represents Skt sukha prakita, meaning something like "manifestion of bliss"?

<sup>1948</sup> VGB 'phra.

<sup>1949</sup> Dg omits the title lines, preceding the text with just the words: bde 'phra bkod (in smaller handwriting).

<sup>1950</sup> Dg omits dang.

<sup>1951</sup> Dg omits shad.

<sup>1952</sup> Dg (med pas) phyi nang ma bral (?) te.

<sup>1953</sup> Dg spang.

<sup>1954</sup> Tk (bde) bas.

<sup>1955</sup> VGB 'phra.

<sup>1956</sup> Dg (bde) la bkod pa'o.

<sup>1957</sup> Dg (don de) yang.

<sup>1958</sup> Dg las (?).

<sup>1959</sup> Dg (bde) la.

<sup>1960</sup> VGB 'phra.

<sup>1961</sup> Dg (sams) can.

<sup>1962</sup> Dg rdzogs pa yongs rdzogs.

<sup>1963</sup> VGB 'phra.

<sup>1964</sup> Tk /VGB sgrub.

<sup>1965</sup> VGB du.

<sup>1966</sup> Dg bsrung du.

<sup>1967</sup> VGB du.

<sup>1968</sup> Dg (yi) ges.

<sup>1969</sup> Dg bdag.

<sup>1970</sup> Dg bskyed.

<sup>1971</sup> Dg na.

med / mtha' dang dbus med brdal<sup>1973</sup> ba'i phra bkod pa'o / gnyis su med pa'i rang bzhin  
 phra bkod pa'o / snang med rig pa shar bas<sup>1974</sup> dngos po kun (1.2) dang bral / skye med  
 dbyings su thug<sup>1975</sup> pas spro ru<sup>1976</sup> med pa yin / ma bcos lhun gyis grub pas rig pa<sup>1977</sup> rang  
 la shar / rten pa'i dbyings su<sup>1978</sup> 'byung ba lnga nyid chos / grub (1.3) pa'i sku mchog chos  
 sku brdal<sup>1979</sup> ba che / yin pa'i rtags su chags sdang<sup>1980</sup> bral bas na / 'pho 'gyur med pas  
 snying rje<sup>1981</sup> gdeng du chud<sup>1982</sup> / 'bras bu mngon sangs rgyas pa'i bde (1.4) ba phra bkod  
 pa'o / 'gog pa'i lam nyid mthar phyin lam bgrod pa / gnyis med mnyam pa'i klong du  
 mthar phyin pas / gzhag<sup>1983</sup> pa'i gzhi med skye med<sup>1984</sup> byang chub sems (1.5) la gnas /  
<sup>1985</sup>dug lnga<sup>1986</sup> spong ba<sup>1987</sup> sku lnga phra bkod pa'o / spyod pa<sup>1988</sup> spyad du med de  
 chags sdang yul las 'das / bsgrubs pas bsgrub tu<sup>1989</sup> med de lha la rten mi 'cha' / bsgoms  
 (1.6) pas bsgom du med de dmigs pa'i<sup>1990</sup> yul dang bral / bsrung ba'i tshul khrims bya ba  
 ye med de / ye<sup>1991</sup> bsrung gdeng dang ldan na<sup>1992</sup> sangs rgyas 'grub pa yin<sup>1993</sup> / 'phrin las  
 (1.7) btsal su med de 'khor ba mya ngan 'das / sems la skye shi med pas bde ba phra bkod  
 pa'o / ma g.yos dbyings na gnas pas gar yang 'gyur ba med / snang (**fol. 312 r.**) srid kun la  
 khyab pas mtha' dang dbus med yin / gang yang bkag pa med pas gsal<sup>1994</sup> ba phra bkod  
 pa'o / bde ba'i klong na gnas pas sdug bsngal (1.2) bral ba yin / 'bras bu chos skur grub pas

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<sup>1972</sup> Dg (mi skye) de ru.

<sup>1973</sup> Dg bdal (?).

<sup>1974</sup> Dg shes pas.

<sup>1975</sup> Tk thugs. Dg has a lacuna after the letter tha here.

<sup>1976</sup> Dg spang len.

<sup>1977</sup> Dg omits rig pa.

<sup>1978</sup> Dg brtan pa'i gnas su

<sup>1979</sup> VGB /Dg brdal; Tb /Tk gdal.

<sup>1980</sup> Dg dang.

<sup>1981</sup> Dg (med pas) mi skye.

<sup>1982</sup> Dg gyur. Dg omits the next four lines.

<sup>1983</sup> Tk /VGB bzhag.

<sup>1984</sup> Tk (skye) mched.

<sup>1985</sup> Dg omits the previous four lines (after gdeng du gyur).

<sup>1986</sup> VGB lngar.

<sup>1987</sup> Dg spangs pas.

<sup>1988</sup> Dg pas (?).

<sup>1989</sup> VGB du.

<sup>1990</sup> Dg sgom pa'i.

<sup>1991</sup> Dg mi.

<sup>1992</sup> Dg nas.

<sup>1993</sup> Dg omits: sangs rgyas 'grub pa yin.

<sup>1994</sup> Dg gsal; Tb /Tk /VGB /gsang. There is a vertical line above the last letter (la) in sDe dge, which may indicate an error.

mtshon pa mya ngan 'das / ye brdal<sup>1995</sup> 'bras bu chos skur lhun gyis grub<sup>1996</sup> / lta bas<sup>1997</sup>  
 bstan pas ye nas gol sa<sup>1998</sup> med / snang (l.3) ba rang la shar bas sems la nub pa med / mi  
 nub rgyal mtshan rtse ru phyin na ltung sa<sup>1999</sup> med / dmigs pa'i<sup>2000</sup> yul med rten med  
 gnas<sup>2001</sup> dang bral / chags sdang med na (l.4) sdug bsngal bral ba yin / mi 'gyur lhun gyis  
 grub pas<sup>2002</sup> bde ba'i klong na gnas / mnyam nyid don du rtogs pas phra<sup>2003</sup> bkod pa'o /  
<sup>2004</sup>bsgom bsgrub mtha' las 'das (l.5) pas mnyam pa'i klong na gnas<sup>2005</sup> / rang bzhin lhun  
 gyis grub pas rgyu dang 'bras bu med / snang ba rang la shar bas nyin dang mtshan mo  
 med / ma bkag kun la khyab (l.6) pas ye brdal<sup>2006</sup> phra<sup>2007</sup> bkod pa'o / skye med dbyings  
 na rig pa rang la shar / don dam nges par rtogs na mnyam pa'i klong na 'phyo<sup>2008</sup> / mnyam  
 pa'i ngang la bzhag<sup>2009</sup> na dus (l.7) gsum gcig tu nges / byung tshor bying rmugs thar lam  
 mi thob<sup>2010</sup> pa<sup>2011</sup> / bsgom du med pa'i don la gnyis med mnyam<sup>2012</sup> par bzhag pa'o<sup>2013</sup> /  
 skye med dbyings nas rig pa'i bcud shar (**fol. 312 v.**) ba'o / dngos po kun dang bral bas  
 snang ba rang shar ba'o<sup>2014</sup> / gzung 'dzin rnam rtog bral bas bde ba rang la shar<sup>2015</sup> / chags  
 sdang<sup>2016</sup> bral bas rtogs pa'i mthar thug pa<sup>2017</sup> / (l.2) sems la bsgom du med pas tshig gi  
 mtha' las 'das / bsgrub tu med pas yi ge'i<sup>2018</sup> sgra dang bral / <sup>2019</sup>bsrung du med de ye  
 bsrungs phra bkod pa'o / byang chub sems (l.3) bde ba phra bkod pa rdzogs so / /

<sup>1995</sup> Dg (ye) brdal; Tk /VGB / (ye) gdal; Tb la.

<sup>1996</sup> Dg ('bras bu) yin pas chos sku 'grub.

<sup>1997</sup> Dg blta bar.

<sup>1998</sup> Dg gos pa (?).

<sup>1999</sup> Dg (ltung) ba.

<sup>2000</sup> Dg pa.

<sup>2001</sup> Dg (rten) pa'i gzhi.

<sup>2002</sup> Tk /VGB nas; Dg pa'i.

<sup>2003</sup> VGB 'phra.

<sup>2004</sup> Dg inserts: mi skyed dbyings nas rig pa rang la shar /don dam nges pa rtogs nas mnyam pa'i klong na 'phyo.

<sup>2005</sup> Dg gnos (?).

<sup>2006</sup> Tk gdal.

<sup>2007</sup> VGB 'phra.

<sup>2008</sup> Dg inserts these two lines (with minor variants) earlier in the text -see note above.

<sup>2009</sup> Tk /VGB /Dg bzhag /Tb gzhang.

<sup>2010</sup> Dg 'thob.

<sup>2011</sup> Dg inserts: ('thob) mnyam par bzhag pa'o.

<sup>2012</sup> Tk and VGB: med mnyam. Tb /Dg omit.

<sup>2013</sup> Dg omits this line.

<sup>2014</sup> Dg (rang) la shar.

<sup>2015</sup> Dg snang.

<sup>2016</sup> Dg dang.

<sup>2017</sup> Dg pa'o.

<sup>2018</sup> Dg (yi) ge.

## *Spyi bcings Edition*

Based on the version contained in the KSG commentary text *sPyi gsang sngags lung gi 'grel pa gnyags dza nya ku ma ras mdzad pa* (KSG Vol. 103, pp. 439-484)<sup>2020</sup>

[440.1]dpal kun tu bzang po la phyag 'tshal lo / [441.1]spyi bcings sngags kyi lung / [442.5]ma 'dres gsal ba'o / [443.5]bdag ni yod do /gzhan ni med do / [444.2]bdag nyid<sup>2021</sup> chen por lhun gyis rdzogs<sup>2022</sup> pas yod do / kun tu bzang po'i ngang du gcig pas gzhan med do<sup>2023</sup> / [445.1]bdag med par chad par ltung ngo<sup>2024</sup> / [445.3-4]sems can rtog pa che ches la / rtog pas 'khor / rtog pa'i bag chags rtas nas rtog pa'i ngang du 'gyur / [446.1]mdo sde dang bstan chos bkrid<sup>2025</sup> drang gi don gyis ni stong par bshad / [446.4]de bas kyang med par bshad / [446.5]de bas kyang stong pa bdag med par bshad / [447.1] 'di yang lung gis ma zin na mi rung ste / [447.3]mu stegs chad par lta ba ni bsgyur dka' la sdig che / [447.5]de bas rtog par lta ba bsgyur sla la nyen chung bar gsungs te / [448.1-2]rnam par mi rtog pa sgom pa'ang sems 'grod<sup>2026</sup> de phyang chad par song ba ni bcos dka' la nyen che / [448.4-5] de bas dmigs pa'i rgyu drag dal la 'dzin pa bcos sla bar 'dzin pas lon las

<sup>2019</sup> Dg has no concluding colophon for this text. Instead the following lines occur: byang chub kyi sems tig (?) chos rnams ma lus dbyings su rgyu gcig pas / 'khor ba mya ngan 'das pa gnyis med de / ji ltar bltas pa kun tu bzang po'i klong / dbyer med klong las mnyam sa (?) bde ba'i sku / snang srid ma lus ye nas dag pas na / sems can sems nyid rgyal ba sangs rgyas yin / (note, see below) rdo rje sems dpa' dbyer med ye sangs rgyas / ye nas dag pas chos sku bde ba'i mchog / btsal du med pas bsgom pa'i tshig dang bral / tshig las 'das pas brjod pa'i tha snyad med / ye sangs rgyas pas blta ba'i dmigs med de / snying po byang chub dgongs su med pa'o / rnal 'byor bltar migs tshol ba don las nyams / mi blta mi tshol don de nyid yin pas / don la mi blta (ba ? plus one more syllable, too smudged to read) med 'khrul pa med / bde ba chen po gang zhig tshol ba 'khrul / rnal 'byor stong bsgom lcags nas bkrol ba yin / / rdzogs so / / There is a note in smaller script with a line of dots leading to the phrase byang chub sems in the line above it, which reads: rdzogs pa spyi gcod kyang zer.

<sup>2020</sup> Verified by cross-checking with the quotations from the *sPyi bcings* in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, which all match. The passages cited in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* (STMG) are shown in italics in this edition.

<sup>2021</sup> STMG fol. 329.5 (*bdag*) *gzhan*.

<sup>2022</sup> STMG fol. 329.6 *grub*.

<sup>2023</sup> The rNying ma bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa (KSG) vol. 103 commentary entitled *sGom don drug 'grel* at p.162.6 quotes this passage as follows: (*spyi bcings las*) / *bdag nyid chen po lhun gyis rdzogs pas / bdag ni yod do / kun tu bzang po'i ngang du gcig pas gzhan med do*.

<sup>2024</sup> This line is followed by the formula *zhes gsungs te*, whereas the most usual one for quotations from the root text is: *zhes bya ba ni*. It is possible that it is not part of the root text, but on balance I think it is, as the commentary does explain it.

<sup>2025</sup> Emending *bkri drang* to *bkrid drang*.

<sup>2026</sup> Emending *grod* to 'grod.

'byung ste / [449.1]de yang cis mngon zhe na / [449.2]ji ltar sbrul la bzung nyes na / rigs  
sngags log par bsgrubs pa bzhin / [449.6]stong pa ni klan dka'o / rtog pa gzhi la sla'o  
/[450.2] 'o na rtog par mi 'gyur ram zhe na / rtog par mi 'gyur ba'i don ni / [450.3-4]rtag  
pa med pas na gzhan bsal / [450.5]chad pa med pas ni bdag du bsdus pa ste / rtag chad  
gnyis dag go / [451.1]skye 'gag med pas kyang bshig la / [451.2]bdag dang gnyis su ma  
gyur pas kyang dag ste / [451.3-4]thams cad nas thams cad du ril bdag du gcig par rang la  
rdzogs pa chen po lhun gyis grub pa'o / [452.1]rtag pa chen po rnam snang mdzad / sems  
dpa' rdo rje mi bskyod mchog / [452.4-5]'di ltar gsal ba'i dus na / 'di ni theg pa chen po  
mdo sde dbu ma la sogs pas gdar bcad nas / [453.2]the tshom gyi gleng gzhi ril dang bral  
bas na / rnam rtog mi mnga' cir yang sa le mkhyen<sup>2027</sup> / [453.6-454.1]lta ba 'dis thag bcad  
nas gsang ba'i theg pa 'og ma dag la zur tsam yang ma brjod do / [454.4-5]bshad pa nyid  
ni 'bras bu'i gnas skabs kyis phye ba ste / de dag ma bshad par zer ba yang rgyu'i skabs  
kyis 'gal ba med do / yang lung las gol te / [454.5-6]sngags gol ba ni gang zhe na / de  
bzhin nyid ni rgyu dang snang / [454.6-455.1]lha bsgom pa'i rim pa smos pa'i de bzhin  
nyid ni / [455.3]lung chen po ma thos zhing / mi mkhas pas bltas na / bsam gtan dang cha  
mthun par 'dra na yang / [456.1-2]de ni sngags kyi lung lha'i ting nge 'dzin du 'gro ba  
dang / [456.4-5]bsam gtan ni tshe rabs kyi bgags / rnam par mi rtog pas rgyud sbyang  
zhing dgon pa gsum la gnas te / cung zad kyang rtog pa 'byung du dogs pa gnyis / [457.3-  
4] 'jug pa'i sgo dang / lta ba'i bzhed dang / phrin las kyi khyad par gzhi nas so so ste  
/[458.6]sngags kyi de bzhin nyid kyang lung gis ma zin na mi rung ste / [459.2]ji ltar zhe  
na<sup>2028</sup> / gcig bsgoms na gcig mi btub ste / gsum so so pa nyid gol tshabs che bas /  
[459.5]'di gsum yang gsar bu rnams la so sor bstan pa'i lung yin par zad kyi / [460.1]kun  
gyis ni dus cig du bsgom dgos so<sup>2029</sup> [460.3]'o na de bzhin nyid ni mi dmigs pas / rgyu  
ni dmigs pa can te / 'di gcig du bsgom par dka' 'am / mi btub 'dra na yang / [460.6]lung  
gis bgrod dang sla'o / [461.3-4]de la dper na chu zla dang me long dang mtsho rlabs kyis  
mtshon pa ni / khong nas 'byung ba'i rgyu rang las gsal to / zin chags kyi skyon med do

<sup>2027</sup> This line is probably part of the root text, as it is followed by the short comment "*go sla'o*". However, its end-quote phrase (*zhes gsungs te*) is not the one most commonly found in this text (cf. note above).

<sup>2028</sup> This rhetorical phrase may not actually be part of the root text.

<sup>2029</sup> I have assigned the lines that follow (up to and including *mi btub 'dra na yang*) to the root text because they are explicated by the commentary, even though they do not terminate with the usual end-quote phrase *zhes bya ba ni*, but with *zhes brgal ba ste* – "it may be objected".

/<sup>2030</sup> [462.5-6]sems can mi lus<sup>2031</sup> sangs rgyas kyi skur bsgom pa dang / 463.1-2]bdag gcig su las dkyil 'khor kyi lha mang po dang / sprul pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i 'phro 'du gsal ba nyid kyis dag go / [463.6-464.1] rmi lam dag gi bde dang sdug bsngal yang / sad pa'i dus na rang bzhin yong gis mnyam / de bzhin rnam par rtog dang mi rtog kyang / rig pa'i dus na rang bzhin ngo bos mnyam / [464.3]ma bcos par ye nas lhun gyis rdzogs pa yin no / [464.5] 'o na gdod nas rdzogs na da bsgom pa 'di ni don med do bar dogs pa la / don med pa ni ma yin te / [464.6]med pa'i rgyu las yod gsal ba / ma mthong 'dris pa'i dkyil 'khor mchog / [465.3-4]dang po med pa'i rgyu yin na / de la rtog pa'i rdzas ci yod / [465.5]'di dag ni spyod pa chen po'i bzhed do / [465.6-466.1]sngags kyi lung gsal ba / [466.1]ban thangs mi phyed de mdongs so /<sup>2032</sup> [466.4-466.5]e ma'o rab du dag pa'i / bdag gi rdo rje pad mo 'di / [467.1]pha yin te ni bdag gi bu / rigs 'di ye nas lta ba'o / [467.4-5]gsangs sngags rgya mtsho chen po 'di<sup>2033</sup> / dpe dang tshad ma gtan tshigs dang / rjes su dpog dang shes rab kyis / rtogs par nus pa ma yin te / [468.1]de bas gsang sngags bdag nyid che / [468.2-3]dngos grub rlabs chen 'khrigs pa can / bsam yas gting ni dpag dka' ba<sup>2034</sup> / [468.6]lung dang man ngag thob pas 'grub<sup>2035</sup> / <sup>2036</sup>[469.3-4]dper na nas dang bra bo bsres nas gcig du blugs kyang so sor gsal ba dang 'dra bar / sngags dang gsam gtan bsres kyang / mkhas pas bltas nas sngags che ba'i khyad par ma 'dres par gsal lo / [469.6]bde ba chen po gang gnas pa / [470.2]rtag pa chen po longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku / [470.4-5]khams gsum las 'das byang chub rin po che / [471.1]stong pas brtsal bas rnyed par ga la 'gyur / [471.2]thig le chen por ye gnas chu gnas pa / ye shes snying po de las gud na med / <sup>2037</sup>[472.2-4]phyi dang ngang gi chos 'di dag ma 'dres par so sor gsal la /

<sup>2030</sup> The commentary elucidates the previous passage with a quotation from the *Kun 'dus* (as found in the KSG version), as follows: *bsgom pa'i gnas med dag du rab rtogs na / bsgoms kyang skyon med chos dbyings nam mkha' 'dra zhes gsungs so*.

<sup>2031</sup> I have tentatively emended the reading *mi las* to *mi lus* here, in the light of the commentary on this passage which reads: *'byung ba'i lus nyid sems kho na las mi gzhan par ma skyes par gsal ba ni ye shes kyi phyag rgya ste*.

<sup>2032</sup> Here the full passage in the commentary reads: *sngags kyi lung gsal ba zhes bya ba nas ban thangs mi phyed de mdongs so zhes bya ba'i bar du ni*, i.e. "from....to....", implying that it has not quoted the entire passage from the root text.

<sup>2033</sup> This passage (beginning *gsangs sngags rgya mtsho...*) is cited in STMG 295.5 and following. There is one variant in this line: STMG [...*rgya mtsho chen po*] *ni*.

<sup>2034</sup> STMG 296.1 (*dka'*) *bas*.

<sup>2035</sup> The citation in the STMG ends here, at STMG 296.1.

<sup>2036</sup> Two lines that follow here may also be part of the root text: *gtan tshig kyi sgo nas bsgrub bya nyid kyang ma 'dres par bshad la / rjes su 'jug pa'i nyams kyang ma 'dres so zhes 'go yang drang ngo*.

<sup>2037</sup> There are several lines here which could be part of the root text, but as they are not commented on in the usual way, I am inclined to think that they are quoting a different source. They read: *mar dang spyin du*

bkri drang gi don gang yang ma spang par mnyam pa chen po'i ngang chos kyi dbyings  
 su bzlums pa de / sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa ma lus par mkhyen cing / lung chen po la gnas  
 pa'i skyes bu ni / [473.2-4]lus mi yin yang sems sangs rgyas so / ston pa po 'jig rten gyi  
 sgron ma zhes bya ste<sup>2038</sup> / dus gsum gyi rgyal ba rnams kyang spyi gtsug gi len pa / phyi  
 nang gi dam can thams cad kyang bka' nyan te ci bsgo ba'i las byed do / [474.1] 'di ltar ni  
 ma rtogs / lung ni med / ma rig pa'i mu nga rgyal gyis bzung nas smra ba ni shin tu yang  
 'khrul par 'gyur te 'gal lo / <sup>2039</sup>[474.3-4]rdzogs chen bla na med par khas 'ches nas / ton  
 mun<sup>2040</sup> bsam gtan tsam la rten 'cha ba / rgyal ba'i sras 'bangs bcas pas<sup>2041</sup> lung dang  
 'gal / <sup>2042</sup>[475.3-5]de bas na / bstan pa mi nub pa'i sgron me 'di / tshe rabs bsam gyis mi  
 khyab pa nas shin tu blo sbyangs te / sems mal du 'jog 'jog pa / rgyal ba rnams bsnyen  
 bkur byas pa'i skyes bu dag gi spyod yul yin gyi / [476.2-3]dam tshig tsam kha don shes  
 pa dang / phyi nang gi chos lod pa'i thug pa bzhin du bsres pa dang / sngags kyi man  
 ngag med pa rnams la snying sgor byung ba'i nyen dang bstos<sup>2043</sup> te gsang ngo / [476.5-  
 6]snod ma yin pas thos na skur pa chen por 'gyur te / gtan du 'khyams so / [477.1-2]de  
 bas na<sup>2044</sup> nyen che zhing bkur dka' ba / man ngag gi tshig gsum mo / [477.3-4]man ngag  
 tshig gsum pa gcig gis ni 'phrags / gnyis kyis ni go / gsum gyis ni legs par brda<sup>2045</sup> phrad /  
 [478.3]'di gsum ma thos sam brda' ma phrad dang / [478.3-4]la la ni stong zer / la la ni  
 rtag zer te / 'di dag tshig 'ga' tsam la go ba'i rtags yin la / gsum med pa yang des mngon  
 no / [479.1]'di gsum yang gcig gi ngang ste / ma bcos par bzhugs pa yi / lhun gyis rdzogs  
 pa chen po'o / de las la bzlar med do / [479.5]kun tu bzang po'i ngang la gcig bzhug pas /

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*brses pas / spyin gyi stobs kyang nyams la / mar gyi mdog kyang nyams te gnyis ka ma rung ngo / zhes  
 gsung so.* This imagery is explained as referring to confusing the teachings of the supreme vehicle and the  
 samādhi of the sūtra section, in preceding lines which could also conceivably be part of the root text, but  
 are less likely to be so.

<sup>2038</sup> This quotation is from the "Gold refined from ore" (*rDo la gser zhun*), one of the *Five Earlier  
 Translations* (1.5 in Lipman's edition).

<sup>2039</sup> The three lines that follow are cited in the STMG at fol. 311.5-6.

<sup>2040</sup> STMG *ston men*.

<sup>2041</sup> STMG (*sras 'bangs*) *babs pa*.

<sup>2042</sup> Two quotations follow at this point which are not commented upon, and do not seem to be from the  
 root text. The passage reads: *sangs rgyas sems can so so na / ye shes chen pos yod ma zin / ces pa dang / ci  
 ste las kyi dbang brtsan na / rang byung ye shes yod ma yin / zhes kyang gsungs pas de dag bzhad pa bzhin  
 du thog ma'i lung nyid nas khyad par du gsung.*

<sup>2043</sup> Emending *bstos* to *bltos*.

<sup>2044</sup> There is a line of dots here in the text before the next word. This probably signifies a lacuna in the  
 source text. The commentary on this line reads as follows: *snod 'dam ma shes pa'i nyen shin du che ba'i  
 phyir bcang dka'o.*

<sup>2045</sup> Emending *brdab* to *brda*'.



bcom ldan 'das la stong pa nyid kyis brgyan / [480.2-3]zla gsang thig le skye 'gag bdag du  
rdzogs / skyes chen thugs la rtag du gsal ba'i rgyu / [480.6-481.1]thams cad sangs rgyas  
med par rdzogs pa chen po'i lung / *ma bkag ci bder*<sup>2046</sup> *byang chub yan du khye*<sup>2047</sup>  
/[481.3-4]de bas na bsam pa dang spyod pa gang yang 'dra ste / ched du gdod 'dzin gar  
yang ma byed cig ces gdam pa'o / <sup>2048</sup>spyi bcings kyis tshig 'khyil pa ril gsal bar phyung  
nas / gcig gnyis kyis rna bar zung la / [482.2]tsi tta'i dkyil 'khor brtsegs pa'i sgo / dpal rta  
mgrin gyis bzung nas gnas so / [482.4-6]gal te 'das na sangs rgyas ni / byed pa po nyid  
kyi phyir na de nyid kyis / 'di dang phyi ma'i nyes pa mang po khab len la lcags 'du ba  
ltar / 'byung bar gzhung du ma las gsungs pas de nyid rjes su dran par bya'o /

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<sup>2046</sup> STMG bde.

<sup>2047</sup> This line is cited in the STMG at 453.1.

<sup>2048</sup> It is possible that the original text concluded here. The reference to Hayagriva, unusual for early Mind Series texts, would tend to support this hypothesis.

### ***Byang chub sems tig Edition***

sDe dge Vol Cha fol.97 a.5-97r.7 <sup>2049</sup>

byang chub kyi sems tig / chos rnams ma lus dbyings su rgyu gcig pas / 'khor ba mya  
ngan 'das pa gnyis med de / ji ltar bltas pa kun tu bzang po'i klong / dbyer med klong las  
ma nyams bde ba'i sku / snang srid ma lus ye nas dag pas na / sems can sems nyid rgyal  
ba sangs rgyas yin / rdo rje sems dpa' dbyer med ye sangs rgyas / ye nas dag pas chos sku  
bde ba'i mchog / brtsal du med pa'i bsgom pa'i tshig dang bral / tshig las 'das pa'i brjod  
pa'i tha snyad med / ye sangs rgyas pas blta ba'i dmigs med de / snying po byang chub  
dgongs su med pa'o / rnal byor bu (?) ltar dmigs tshol bdon<sup>2050</sup> las nyams / mi blta mi  
tshol don de nyid yin pas / don la mi blta [tshol?<sup>2051</sup>] med 'khrul pa med / bde ba chen po  
gang zhig tshol ba 'khrul / rnal 'byor stong bsgom lcags<sup>2052</sup> nas bkrol ba yin / rdzogs so /

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<sup>2049</sup> This text is found after the sDe dge NGB text of the bDe ba phra bkod. A note on the line below in smaller characters pointing to this declares: rdzogs pa spyi gcod kyang zer.

<sup>2050</sup> Amending bdon to don.

<sup>2051</sup> 1 syllable illegible, perhaps tshol?

<sup>2052</sup> Tentatively amending lcags to chags.

## ***bDe 'jam Edition***

Based on version in mTshams brag vol. 1, fol. 309v.-311r.3.<sup>2053</sup>

### **fol. 309v. /p. 618.5**

rgya gar skad du / ma nya+ju su kha / bod skad du / bde byam<sup>2054</sup> / bcom ldan 'das rdo rje  
bde ba chen po la phyag 'tshal lo<sup>2055</sup> / bde 'jam<sup>2056</sup> dbyings phyug sdug bsngal<sup>2057</sup> (1.6) bha  
ga la / dbyer med lhun rdzogs thig le<sup>2058</sup> dbyings nyid che / bskyod<sup>2059</sup> pa mi mnga' ye  
nas<sup>2060</sup> rin po che / bya ba med par<sup>2061</sup> lhun rdzogs thig le che / thams cad ma bkag (**fol.**  
**310 r. /p.619**) dbyer med bdag nyid che<sup>2062</sup> / skye med dbyings las thams cad ma 'gags  
shing<sup>2063</sup> / dus gsum 'du 'bral med pa'i gsal ba yang<sup>2064</sup> / don dam (1.2) klong du gyur  
pas<sup>2065</sup> sems dpa' che / rgyu las<sup>2066</sup> bsgrub tu<sup>2067</sup> med pas ye nas gnas / btsal du med pas  
bod pa<sup>2068</sup> mngon sum dbyings / smon du med pas thams cad<sup>2069</sup> rang la (1.3) rdzogs / tha  
snyad med pas rnal 'byor chen po'i<sup>2070</sup> bdag / go 'phang med pas<sup>2071</sup> lta ba<sup>2072</sup> kun<sup>2073</sup> gyi  
dbyings / 'dul ba'i<sup>2074</sup> las rnams thams cad<sup>2075</sup> ci<sup>2076</sup> spyad kyang / rol pa (1.4) nyid las ma

<sup>2053</sup> This edition incorporates the following versions of the text in addition to mTshams brag: gTing skyes vol. Ka, fol. 430.3-432.3; sDe dge vol. Cha, fol. 88v.6-89r.7; KSG vol. 103 p.113-138 (lemmata).

<sup>2054</sup> Tk 'jam.

<sup>2055</sup> Dg and KSG omit the lines containing the title and homage. Dg precedes the text with the words: rdzogs chen bde 'byams (in smaller writing).

<sup>2056</sup> Dg / 'byams; KSG 'byam.

<sup>2057</sup> Dg /Tk omit sdug bsngal; KSG reverses the word order as follows: sdug bsngal dbyings phyug.

<sup>2058</sup> Dg le'i.

<sup>2059</sup> Dg /KSG bskyed.

<sup>2060</sup> Dg /KSG (ye) shes.

<sup>2061</sup> Dg pa; KSG pas.

<sup>2062</sup> KSG (dbyer med) bdag gi rgyu.

<sup>2063</sup> Dg is illegible for the last three syllables of this line. KSG omits the whole line - perhaps an indication that KSG is based on or later than Dg.

<sup>2064</sup> Dg /KSG omit this line. See note 10 above.

<sup>2065</sup> Dg is illegible between the words don dam and sems dpa' che, except for the word nyid. KSG reads: don dam nyid du sems dpa' che. This strongly suggests that it is based on Dg.

<sup>2066</sup> Dg /KSG omit rgyu las.

<sup>2067</sup> KSG du.

<sup>2068</sup> Provisionally amending Tb /Tk bod pa to 'bod pa. Dg /KSG omit.

<sup>2069</sup> Dg /KSG omit thams cad.

<sup>2070</sup> Dg /KSG omit chen po'i.

<sup>2071</sup> Dg /KSG (go 'phang) gcod pas.

<sup>2072</sup> Dg /KSG omit lta ba.

<sup>2073</sup> KSG chos.

<sup>2074</sup> Dg /KSG omit 'dul ba'i.

<sup>2075</sup> KSG (le rnams) sna tshogs.

<sup>2076</sup> KSG cing.

nyams shin tu bde<sup>2077</sup> / thig le nyid pas<sup>2078</sup> spang du med pa'i phyir<sup>2079</sup> / rtsa ba'i<sup>2080</sup> 'dod  
chags zhe sdang gti mug kyang / spang du med pas byang chub chen po'i lam<sup>2081</sup> / (1.5)  
bsam du med pa'i ye shes gsal ba ni<sup>2082</sup> / nam grangs med pas dbyings nyid dag pa'i<sup>2083</sup>  
klong / gzugs rnam med pas byang chub snying po'i<sup>2084</sup> sku / nam rtog zhi bas (1.6)  
khyad par ye shes che / gdod nas ma bskyed<sup>2085</sup> pa ni dngos grub ste<sup>2086</sup> / 'chi ba med pas  
bdud rtsi'i<sup>2087</sup> dbyings / thig le ye nas gsal ba'i dam tshig la / tha tshig ming (1.7) du btags  
pa med<sup>2088</sup> / ri rab rtse nas<sup>2089</sup> nyi ma stong shar bas / ye shes thugs kyi nyi ma gcig<sup>2090</sup>  
shar dro / rang la thams cad shar ba'i 'od zer ni<sup>2091</sup> / shar ba nyid na<sup>2092</sup> (**fol. 310 v. /p.620**)  
dus gsum<sup>2093</sup> nub pa med / mi gnas dmigs su med pas gsal ba ni / bsgom du med nyid  
bsgom du med pas bde / ye nas ma bsgoms ji bzhin gsal ba (12) yang<sup>2094</sup> / bsgoms pas  
gzhan nas rgyal ba'i<sup>2095</sup> chos mi rnyed<sup>2096</sup> / rdo rje nyi ma dbyings nas shar ba yis<sup>2097</sup> /  
thams cad kun kyang de bzhin nyid du gsal<sup>2098</sup> / 'gyur ba med (1.3) pas lta ba<sup>2099</sup> bal nag  
ste<sup>2100</sup> / cir yang 'gyur bas thugs rje bal dkar bzhin<sup>2101</sup> / brtags na<sup>2102</sup> thams cad<sup>2103</sup> bal nag

<sup>2077</sup> Dg /KSG omit this line.

<sup>2078</sup> Dg /KSG (nyid) las.

<sup>2079</sup> Dg /KSG omit pa'i phyir.

<sup>2080</sup> Dg /KSG omit rtsa ba'i.

<sup>2081</sup> Dg /KSG (med pas) bdag gi rgyu. KSG uses the phrase bdag gi rgyu above as well (see note 9).

<sup>2082</sup> Dg /KSG: gti mug med pas bsam du med.

<sup>2083</sup> Tk dag pa'i; Tb bdag po'i. Dg and KSG omit.

<sup>2084</sup> Dg /KSG omit snying po'i.

<sup>2085</sup> Tk skyes.

<sup>2086</sup> Dg omits the two preceding lines, and instead reads: thig le med pas ye nas dam tshig pas /dam tshig ming du btags pa med. KSG follows Dg except that it omits med pas from the first line.

<sup>2087</sup> KSG rtsi.

<sup>2088</sup> Dg omits the two preceding lines, instead reading: khyad par nyid las ye shes che. KSG follows Dg except that it reads (khyad par nyid) pas.

<sup>2089</sup> Dg /KSG la.

<sup>2090</sup> KSG cig.

<sup>2091</sup> Dg /KSG omit this line.

<sup>2092</sup> Dg nas.

<sup>2093</sup> Dg /KSG omit dus gsum.

<sup>2094</sup> Dg /KSG omit the preceding three lines. Dg reads: bsgom pa nyid nas bsgom du med /bsgom pa'i dmigs pa med pa'o / KSG reads: bsgom pa nyid na bsgom du med / bsgom pa dmigs su med pa'o.

<sup>2095</sup> KSG omits rgyal ba'i.

<sup>2096</sup> Dg reads: bsgrubs pas gzhan nas chos mi rnyed.

<sup>2097</sup> Dg reads: rdo rje rin chen 'bar ba ltar. KSG reads: rdo rje nyid chen 'bar ba ltar.

<sup>2098</sup> Dg /KSG (de bzhin) no.

<sup>2099</sup> Dg /KSG omit lta ba.

<sup>2100</sup> Dg /KSG (bal nag) bzhin.

<sup>2101</sup> Dg: 'gyur du btub pa bal dkar bzhin / KSG: 'gyur du btub pas bal dkar bzhin.

<sup>2102</sup> Dg pa.

<sup>2103</sup> Dg /Tk /KSG omit thams cad.

nyid kyi dbyings / lhun gyi gnas pas lta ba'i<sup>2104</sup> go 'phang (l.4) gcod / gdod nas dag pas  
srid pa'i<sup>2105</sup> pa dma bzhin / 'gyur ba med pas<sup>2106</sup> thig le'i<sup>2107</sup> dbyings na<sup>2108</sup> bde / bya ba  
med pas thams cad kun la 'jam<sup>2109</sup> / dus gsum (l.5) med pas thig le nyid du 'byam<sup>2110</sup> / ye  
nas snying po btsal du med pa la<sup>2111</sup> / btsal ba'i bsam pas don dam dbyings mi bskyod<sup>2112</sup>  
/ dra ba nyid pas mu khyud phyogs bcur (l.6) bde<sup>2113</sup> / thig le nyid pas thig phran dgu la  
bde<sup>2114</sup> / rtse rgyal rtogs<sup>2115</sup> na grub pa'i<sup>2116</sup> gnas chen bde / thig le ye nas bde ba'i rdo rje'i  
dbyings<sup>2117</sup> / thogs med yongs su (l.7) sbyangs pa'i bha ga la<sup>2118</sup> / dbyer med lhun rdzogs  
thig le<sup>2119</sup> dbyings nyid che / sku gsung thugs shar mu khyud dkyil 'khor bde<sup>2120</sup> / nman  
par dag pas bde ba'i<sup>2121</sup> byang chub (**fol. 311r. /p. 621**) sku / 'gro ba'i lam chen mkha'  
dbyings dag pa la<sup>2122</sup> / thig le ye nas bde ba<sup>2123</sup> rdo rje'i dbyings<sup>2124</sup> / rdo rje nyi ma<sup>2125</sup>  
dus gsum<sup>2126</sup> 'du 'bral med / de bas (l.2) thig le thams cad rdo rje'i dbyings<sup>2127</sup> / brdal ba  
nyid na dus gsum 'du 'bral med<sup>2128</sup> / <sup>2129</sup>byang chub sems ni ye nas gsal ba'i phyir / klong  
gi dkyil 'khor chen po bde (l.3) 'jam rdzogs so//<sup>2130</sup>

<sup>2104</sup> Dg /KSG omit lta ba'i.

<sup>2105</sup> Dg /KSG omit srid pa'i.

<sup>2106</sup> Dg pa.

<sup>2107</sup> Dg /Tk /KSG le.

<sup>2108</sup> Dg /KSG omit dbyings na.

<sup>2109</sup> Dg /KSG (bya ba med pas) thig le bde.

<sup>2110</sup> Tk 'jam; Dg /KSG (thig le) bde.

<sup>2111</sup> Dg /KSG read: btsal du med pas thig le bde.

<sup>2112</sup> Tk skyod. Dg: rtsol bar 'dod pas dbyings mi bskyod. KSG follows Dg, except that it reads: brtsal bar.

<sup>2113</sup> Dg: dra ba med pas mu khyud med; KSG: rgya ba nyid ra bas (?or rabs?) mu khyud bde

<sup>2114</sup> Dg: thig le med pas thig phran bde; KSG: thig le nyid las thig phan bde.

<sup>2115</sup> Tk /KSG rtog.

<sup>2116</sup> Dg /KSG omit grub pa'i.

<sup>2117</sup> Dg omits this line, although it does include it (minus bde ba'i) a few lines later on, at the point where it is repeated by the other versions. See below.

<sup>2118</sup> KSG omits the preceding two lines.

<sup>2119</sup> KSG le'i.

<sup>2120</sup> Dg /KSG omit 'khor bde.

<sup>2121</sup> Dg /KSG omit bde ba'i.

<sup>2122</sup> Dg (lam chen) byang chub sku. KSG (lam chen) nam mkha'i dbyings.

<sup>2123</sup> Dg omits bde ba'i; see note 52.

<sup>2124</sup> KSG: thig le rtsa ba ye nas rdo rje dbyings.

<sup>2125</sup> Tk (nyi) mas.

<sup>2126</sup> Dg /KSG reads: rdo rje nyid la 'du 'bral med.

<sup>2127</sup> Dg: de las thig le brdal ba'i dbyings. KSG: de bas thig le bdal ba'i dbyings.

<sup>2128</sup> Dg: brdal ba nyid la nub pa med. KSG: bdal ba nyid na nub pa med.

<sup>2129</sup> KSG has no further quotations from the root text.

<sup>2130</sup> Dg conflates the final two lines as follows: byang chub kyi sems klong yangs pa'i dkyil 'khor rdzogs so.

### *Srog gi 'khor lo Edition*

Based on version in mTshams brag vol. 1, fol. 299v.2-301r.4.<sup>2131</sup>

#### **(fol. 299v.2/p.598.2)**

rgya gar skad du / a yo tsa kra / bod skad du / srog gi 'khor lo /<sup>2132</sup>bcom ldan 'das te ma  
lus kun gyi dpal / thugs rje thabs kyis<sup>2133</sup> 'gro don (l.3) mthar phyin pa / bde ba thams cad  
mkhyen pa nyid kyi ngang<sup>2134</sup> / <sup>2135</sup>sku gsung thugs kyi<sup>2136</sup> rang bzhin chos kyi  
dbyings<sup>2137</sup> / byang chub sems ni<sup>2138</sup> srog gi 'khor lo bas<sup>2139</sup> / mnyam nyid (l.4) 'dus pa'i  
gter la phyag 'tshal lo / lus ngag yid gsum sku gsung thugs sbyor bas<sup>2140</sup> / rgyal ba rnams  
kyi gsang chen 'khor bzlog pa / mya ngan 'das pa'i dam (l.5) tshig lu gu rgyud / chos  
dbyings rnal 'byor yongs kyi gter chen pas / rna brgyud thugs kyi<sup>2141</sup> gter chen<sup>2142</sup> skal  
ldan la / mi nub yongs kyi btsas su bzhag pa yin / (l.6) sku gsung thugs las bsdus pa'i  
snying po 'di<sup>2143</sup> / dus gsum rgyal ba'i chos dbyings sku gsung thugs / mnyam nyid 'gro  
don man ngag kun gyi gter / skal ldan (l.7) tshad ma rang rig dbang phyug gis / de yi<sup>2144</sup>  
rjes 'tshob<sup>2145</sup> thugs kyi sras mehog la / tsi tta'i dkyil 'khor yangs par gsal gyur cig<sup>2146</sup> /  
chos dbyings skye med mi gnas **(fol. 300r.)** mya ngan 'das med bdag<sup>2147</sup> / mi skye mi 'gag

<sup>2131</sup> This edition incorporates the following versions in addition to mTshams brag: gTing skyes vol. 1 pp. 445.3-448.1; sDe dge vol. Cha, fol. 95r.2-97r.4; Vairo rgyud 'bum (incomplete; does not accord with publisher's index), vol. 1, fol. 315.1-316.1; KSG vol. 103, pp. 232-277 (lemmata).

<sup>2132</sup> Dg omits the preceding lines.

<sup>2133</sup> Dg kyi.

<sup>2134</sup> Tk dang.

<sup>2135</sup> KSG omits opening lines up to mthar phyin pa. Its first line reads: bcom ldan dpal bde thams cad mkhyen pa'i ngang.

<sup>2136</sup> KSG kyis.

<sup>2137</sup> KSG (chos) dbyings la.

<sup>2138</sup> Dg /KSG kyi.

<sup>2139</sup> Dg /KSG 'di.

<sup>2140</sup> Dg /KSG ba.

<sup>2141</sup> KSG kyis.

<sup>2142</sup> KSG gdeng chud.

<sup>2143</sup> Dg /KSG 'di; Tb /Tk 'di..

<sup>2144</sup> Tk /KSG de'i.

<sup>2145</sup> Dg sob; Tk 'tsho ba.

<sup>2146</sup> Dg cing.

<sup>2147</sup> Dg /KSG dag.

'khor ba spong len med / nga med bdag dang bral ba rgyal ba'i thugs / rnal 'byor gsang  
ba'i snying po (1.2) mtha' yas pa<sup>2148</sup> / rin chen gter 'dus rgyal bas brjod mi lang / ma  
spangs ma bsgrubs nam mkha'i ngang du gnas / khams gsum brtags na<sup>2149</sup> 'khor ba mya  
ngan (1.3) med / phyogs char 'char ba<sup>2150</sup> rtse na<sup>2151</sup> bde<sup>2152</sup> gshegs snying po yin<sup>2153</sup> /  
kun gyi rang bzhin 'ja' tshon snang bzhin med / de la<sup>2154</sup> med bzhin 'byung ba rgya mtsho  
'dra / (1.4) chos dbyings skye ba med pa yum gyi mkha'<sup>2155</sup> / rgyal ba'i phyag rgya skye  
ba'i<sup>2156</sup> cho 'phrul can / 'khor ba mya ngan 'das la 'god<sup>2157</sup> pa'i phyir / rang byung ye shes  
dbyings las (1.5) ma g.yos kyang / stong khams yongs la snyoms pa'i thugs rje 'byung /  
nga med bdag dang bral ba'i snying po rdzogs / don dam ye shes dbyings 'di<sup>2158</sup> rdzogs pa  
(1.6) che / snying po nyi ma bzhin te 'od kyi mchog / skye 'gro phyi nang gzugs rnams  
thams cad ni / sku mchog mi zad rgyan gyi 'khor lo<sup>2159</sup> yang<sup>2160</sup> / sgra skad rab 'bring tha  
ma (1.7) ma lus pa / gsung mchog mi zad rgyan gyi 'khor lor<sup>2161</sup> rdzogs / dbyer med don  
dam dbyings su ro gcig pas<sup>2162</sup> / thugs mchog mi zad rgyan gyi<sup>2163</sup> 'khor<sup>2164</sup> lor<sup>2165</sup> 2166  
(fol. 300v.) rdzogs / thams cad sku gsung thugs te dbyer med pas<sup>2167</sup> / skye med nam  
mkha'i<sup>2168</sup> klong yangs rgya mtsho bzhin / 'du 'bral med pa'i dbyings mchog rab 'byams  
na<sup>2169</sup> / (1.2) chen po bzhi yi<sup>2170</sup> cho 'phrul grangs med pas<sup>2171</sup> / brtags sam<sup>2172</sup> rtogs na

<sup>2148</sup> Dg bsam yas pa; KSG bsam yas pas.

<sup>2149</sup> KSG nas.

<sup>2150</sup> Dg (phyogs char) bcas na; Tk (phyogs char) brtses na; KSG (phyogs char) gces na.

<sup>2151</sup> Dg /KSG omit rtse na.

<sup>2152</sup> KSG bder.

<sup>2153</sup> Dg /KSG min.

<sup>2154</sup> KSG inserts (de la) bya ba.

<sup>2155</sup> Dg /KSG (yum gyi) ngang.

<sup>2156</sup> Dg rgyal ba'i.

<sup>2157</sup> KSG 'god; TB /Tk dgod.

<sup>2158</sup> KSG gi.

<sup>2159</sup> Dg /KSG lor

<sup>2160</sup> Dg rdzogs; Tk /KSG yangs.

<sup>2161</sup> KSG lo.

<sup>2162</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>2163</sup> Dg /KSG omit gyi.

<sup>2164</sup> KSG omits 'khor.

<sup>2165</sup> Amending ldan to lor.

<sup>2166</sup> Omitting yongs su.

<sup>2167</sup> Dg /KSG pa.

<sup>2168</sup> KSG mkha'.

<sup>2169</sup> KSG ni.

<sup>2170</sup> Tk /KSG bzhi'i.

<sup>2171</sup> Dg /KSG pa.

<sup>2172</sup> KSG pa.

'byung ba'i 'bras bur 'dus / <sup>2173</sup>chi ba med pa'i sman chen bdud rtsi 'di / ye nas rdzogs pas  
 (1.3) ye<sup>2174</sup> nas btsal mi dgos / kun kyang<sup>2175</sup> rgyu<sup>2176</sup> gcig chos dbyings ngang du mnyam  
 / gzhan nas 'ong med gang<sup>2177</sup> du'ang<sup>2178</sup> 'gro mi srid / thams cad rang bzhin<sup>2179</sup> byang  
 chub sems (1.4) su gsal / snang srid thabs kyi rang bzhin rgyal ba'i yab / de la rang bzhin  
 med pa yum gyi dbyings / thabs dang shes rab ldan par ma 'dus med / thabs dang (1.5)  
 shes rab 'brel ba'i rang bzhin la<sup>2180</sup> / sku gsung thugs kyi phyag rgya bsam mi khyab /  
 chos dbyings rgyu gcig rang bzhin cir yang snang<sup>2181</sup> / byang chub rnam gnyis (1.6) ngang  
 du thams cad 'dus / mkha' dbyings rnam dag yangs pa'i rgya mtsho la / 'byung ba'i skar  
 tshogs mang po bsam mi khyab / de bzhin mkha' mnyam dbang phyug chen (1.7) po'i  
 thugs / yon tan rgya mtsho sangs rgyas kun gyi ngang / bdag med phyogs bral chos  
 dbyings mkha' dang mnyam / sems can kun 'dren byang chub dbyings<sup>2182</sup> la (fol. 301r.)  
 'god<sup>2183</sup> / sde snod rgyud dang gal<sup>2184</sup> po thugs la rdzogs / mtho<sup>2185</sup> dman phyogs  
 mtshams byang chub sems dang ldan / chos dbyings dri med rgya mtsho (1.2) dangs<sup>2186</sup> pa  
 'dra<sup>2187</sup> / srid gsum 'gran<sup>2188</sup> zla mi mnga' dbang phyug che / yongs kyi srog 'dus chos kyi  
 'khor lo 'di / rang rig dbang phyug rdo rje legs rtsal<sup>2189</sup> gyis / rnal (1.3) 'byor yongs kyi  
 don du bsgrags<sup>2190</sup> pa dag / gnyis med man ngag srog gi 'khor lo zhes / thugs las<sup>2191</sup>  
 phyung nas<sup>2192</sup> 'gro ba yongs la bsngo / srog gi 'khor lo<sup>2193</sup> rdzogs (1.4) so<sup>2194</sup> / /

<sup>2173</sup> VGB text extant from here on.

<sup>2174</sup> Dg /KSG gzhan.

<sup>2175</sup> KSG gyi.

<sup>2176</sup> Tk rgyud

<sup>2177</sup> KSG gar; Tk /VGB gong.

<sup>2178</sup> Dg /KSG yang; Tk /VGB du.

<sup>2179</sup> Tk and VGB omit rang bzhin ( leaving only seven syllables in the line).

<sup>2180</sup> Tk /VGB la ;Tb las ; Dg /KSG pas.

<sup>2181</sup> Dg /KSG cir snang yang.

<sup>2182</sup> Tk lam.

<sup>2183</sup> Dg /KSG 'god; Tb /Tk /VGB dgod.

<sup>2184</sup> Dg bgal (?).

<sup>2185</sup> KSG mthon.

<sup>2186</sup> Tk dang.

<sup>2187</sup> Dg (dangs) 'dra ba; KSG dwangs 'dra ba.

<sup>2188</sup> VGB 'dran.

<sup>2189</sup> KSG btsan.

<sup>2190</sup> KSG bzhag.

<sup>2191</sup> VGB la.

<sup>2192</sup> Dg ba.

<sup>2193</sup> Dg omits srog gi 'khor lo.

<sup>2194</sup> VGB sho (=so ha?); KSG omits concluding line.



### *Thig le drug pa Edition*

Based on Chapter 3 (fol. 53v.-55r.) of Tb. 124 (mTshams brag vol. Ca, fol. 50v.5-63v.) entitled rDzogs pa chen po chos nyid byang chub kyi sems thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa'i rgyud.<sup>2195</sup>

*Passages cited in the bSam gtan mig sgron (where they are attributed to the Thig le drug pa) are shown in italics.*

de nas sangs rgyas kun gyis bstod byas shing / phyogs rnams<sup>2196</sup> dbang bskur rang gi  
gsang sngags ston / zhing khams mtha' klas mchog gi<sup>2197</sup> dkyil 'khor sbyor / mya ngan rba  
glong<sup>2198</sup> rnam rtog dra ba sel / kun tu bzang po rigs kyi 'khor lo dag / phyogs rnams kun  
tu gzigs shing dgongs mdzad de / rang gi gsang ba bla na med pa'i tshul / (**fol. 54a**) ston  
pa 'jig rten sgron mar gyur pa kun gyis<sup>2199</sup> rab bsngags<sup>2200</sup> pa / chos la chos kyi snying  
por gyur ba 'jam dpal gzhon nu nyid / rnam dag byang chub sems kyi rang bzhin gnyis  
med sgom pa ni / bya bral bde ba'i klong du ma bcos ji bzhin btang snyom gnas / tshul  
khrims la sogs spyod pa rgya mtsho<sup>2201</sup> gzhir gyur pa / tha dad *ji snyed*<sup>2202</sup> *lam du bshad*  
*pa yang / bde gshegs yum*<sup>2203</sup> *du*<sup>2204</sup> *gyur cing kun gyis mtshungs pa'i lam / de med mi*  
*'byung de phyir de ni rnal 'byor mchog gi lam / 'gro zhing shes dka' kun gyi lam ste mi*  
rtog rtog las 'das / mi gnas mi dmigs spros med bsam dang bral / tshig gis mi theg dbyibs  
dang kha dog<sup>2205</sup> dbang po'i spyod yul med / bstan<sup>2206</sup> zhing rtag<sup>2207</sup> par dka' la brjod du

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<sup>2195</sup> This edition incorporates the following versions in addition to mTshams brag: Dg. vol. Ra fol. 269v.-278r; Tk vol. 2 pp. 128-148.

<sup>2196</sup> Tk omits rnams.

<sup>2197</sup> Tk gis.

<sup>2198</sup> Dg and Tk klong.

<sup>2199</sup> Tk gyi.

<sup>2200</sup> Tk sngags.

<sup>2201</sup> Tk mtsho'i.

<sup>2202</sup> Dg and Tk insert: lam grol.

<sup>2203</sup> Tk yul.

<sup>2204</sup> Tk omits du.

<sup>2205</sup> Tk (mi theg) kha dog dbyibs dang.

<sup>2206</sup> Emending bstan to bstan, in accord with the explanation of this passage on fol. 58 b.

rdul tsam med / sngon gyi drang srong rnams kyi lam du med / sngon gyi drang srong  
 rnams kyi<sup>2208</sup> lam du gang 'jug pa / sgom chags rtsol ba<sup>2209</sup> lam gyi nad<sup>2210</sup> kyis zin ta re /  
 ston pa'i lung bzhin tshig gi mtha' dpyod<sup>2211</sup> lam du de mthong na / de nyid rtog<sup>2212</sup> pa'i  
 rgyun 'brang ri dvags<sup>2213</sup> smig rgyu snyegs pa 'dra / brjod med rnam<sup>2214</sup> dag lam ni tshig  
 gis mtshon du med / dag dang ma dag<sup>2215</sup> bstan pa<sup>2216</sup> tshig nyid tsam ste 'khrul / dag  
 dang ma dag gnyis med 'dres shing dbyer med mtshungs<sup>2217</sup> / de bas gnyis snang spang  
 blang dgag (**fol. 54b**) sgrub med pa'i tshul / rnam pa cir yang mi 'byed ye shes gti mug  
 ngang<sup>2218</sup> / thogs<sup>2219</sup> med gsal ba'i mar mer<sup>2220</sup> bsam pa kun dang bral / ngang gi<sup>2221</sup>  
 mi<sup>2222</sup> g.yo rmugs<sup>2223</sup> shing ting 'dzin rgyal por gnas / mngon du mthong med<sup>2224</sup> mthong  
 byed de nyid thob pa'i dmigs<sup>2225</sup> / de phyir thams cad mkhyen pa'i spyen zhes de la bya /  
 de bzhin dbang po drug gi yul gnas de nyid 'das / mtha' dang dbus med yangs pa'i rang  
 bzhin te / mi len mi spong mnyam pa'i rgyal por gnas / sems dang bag chags gnyis med  
 'dres shing mtshungs / 'dzin pas brtags<sup>2226</sup> shing snang ba'i chos rnams ni / rang gi rgyan  
 du snang bas mi 'dor spong<sup>2227</sup> mi byed / rnam par cir<sup>2228</sup> yang mi dgongs thabs kyis<sup>2229</sup>  
 bde<sup>2230</sup> la rol / kun dang mi mthun yongs kyis spong ba'i<sup>2231</sup> chos dag pas / nyon mongs  
 lnga dang mtshams med lnga yi<sup>2232</sup> dngos nyid med / rnam dag lam<sup>2233</sup> der zhugs pas

<sup>2207</sup> Dg brtag.

<sup>2208</sup> Tk kyis.

<sup>2209</sup> Dg ba'i.

<sup>2210</sup> Tk gnad.

<sup>2211</sup> Emending spyod to dpyod.

<sup>2212</sup> Tk rtog; Tb rtogs.

<sup>2213</sup> Tk and Dg (?) dvags; Tb dags.

<sup>2214</sup> Dg and Tk yang.

<sup>2215</sup> Dg yang dag (bstan pa).

<sup>2216</sup> Tk pa'i.

<sup>2217</sup> Tk mtshud.

<sup>2218</sup> Dg and Tk dang (?).

<sup>2219</sup> Tk thog.

<sup>2220</sup> Dg and Tk me.

<sup>2221</sup> Tk gis.

<sup>2222</sup> Dg omits mi.

<sup>2223</sup> Dg inserts dangs.

<sup>2224</sup> Emending bas to med, in accord with the explanation of this passage on fol. 60 a.

<sup>2225</sup> Dg mig.

<sup>2226</sup> Dg brtags; Tb /Tk rtags.

<sup>2227</sup> Dg and Tk spang.

<sup>2228</sup> Dg spyir.

<sup>2229</sup> Tk kyi.

<sup>2230</sup> Emending de to bde.

<sup>2231</sup> Tk yongs pa'i.

<sup>2232</sup> Tk yis.

mnyam pa'i rgyal po thob / 'du byed la sogs kun kyang spang blang dor mi byed / lo rgyus  
don nyid tshad<sup>2234</sup> ma'i blur bzhags<sup>2235</sup> nas / ting 'dzin gsum sogs<sup>2236</sup> rtags nams grub  
'dod pas / rtsol bral lung las gol te 'khrul pa yin / bya bral lhun rdzogs bde ba'i yul la gnas  
/ ye shes rang byung che ba'i snying po nyid / mi g.yo mi 'gyur bsnyad<sup>2237</sup> pa kun (**fol.**  
**55a)** dang bral / zin pa'i bdud rtsis rtsol ba'i sdug bsngal 'joms / bya bral yul la<sup>2238</sup> kun tu  
ji bzhin gnas / ma bcos mtshan ma'i rtog<sup>2239</sup> tshogs mtha' nams kun dang bral / <sup>2240</sup>ma  
'gags yon tan dus gsum 'grib pa<sup>2241</sup> med / ma spangs nyes tshogs rtog<sup>2242</sup> pa'i yul nams  
dag / sgrib med phyi nang kun tu ye shes chen po<sup>2243</sup> gnas / rtsol sgrub mtha' 'das sangs  
rgyas kun tu bzang / ye nas nam bkod lhun gyis grub pa'i chos / de dag de rgyud rang gi  
nam dag ston / thig le chen por chos nams spros pa med / de dag byang chub sems kyi  
rang bzhin la / rang bzhin ngo bo yul kun gsal bar ston / thams cad byed dang bya ba'i  
chos rgyud las / skye 'gag nam brtags<sup>2244</sup> rang bzhin don gyis<sup>2245</sup> bral / yul dang yul can  
mtshan ma'i tha snyad<sup>2246</sup> de / bsam rtog kun las 'das pa'i ye shes nyid / ces gsungs so /  
rdzogs pa chen po chos nyid byang chub kyi sems thig le rgya mtsho gnas la 'jug pa'i  
rgyud las / de kho na nyid kyi don gtan<sup>2247</sup> la 'bebs<sup>2248</sup> pa'i le'u ste gsum pa'o /

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<sup>2233</sup> Tk las.

<sup>2234</sup> Tk mtshan.

<sup>2235</sup> Dg and Tk bzhags; Tb gzhags.

<sup>2236</sup> Tk sogs, Tb /Dg tshogs.

<sup>2237</sup> Tk snyed.

<sup>2238</sup> Tk las.

<sup>2239</sup> Tk rtogs.

<sup>2240</sup> Dg inserts: zin pa'i.

<sup>2241</sup> Tk 'gre ba.

<sup>2242</sup> Tk rtogs.

<sup>2243</sup> Dg po'i.

<sup>2244</sup> Tk dag.

<sup>2245</sup> Tk gyi.

<sup>2246</sup> Tk snyed

<sup>2247</sup> Tk bstan

<sup>2248</sup> Tk phab

## *rDzogs pa spyi gcod Edition*

mTshams brag, vol. 1, fol. 317v.6-318v.1 (p. 634.6-636.1)<sup>2249</sup>

bcom ldan 'das bde chen rdzogs pa'i klong la phyag 'tshal lo<sup>2250</sup> / byang chub sems ni kun  
tu bzang / bdag dang gzhan gdod nas<sup>2251</sup> (1.7) med pas<sup>2252</sup> / lhun gyis<sup>2253</sup> rdzogs pa'i  
ngang nyid la / skye dang 'chi med 'gyur ba'i chos med do<sup>2254</sup> / dag pa'i<sup>2255</sup> bdud rtsi chen  
po yang<sup>2256</sup> / mi 'gyur gsal bas gser bzhin (**fol. 318 r. /p.635**) te<sup>2257</sup> / dge sdig so sor  
bcings pa yis<sup>2258</sup> / rnam grol thar pa bcings pa ha<sup>2259</sup> / gang gis de ltar ma rig ste<sup>2260</sup> / don  
med sgra phyir 'brangs pa (1.2) yang<sup>2261</sup> / dge sdig gnyis ka'i phyogs 'dzin pas / dmigs  
med ldongs nas 'gro ba ha<sup>2262</sup> / dkar bas dkar ba'i nyi ma med / gnag pas gnag pa'i mun pa  
(1.3) med / zhi ba'i<sup>2263</sup> gsal ba'i thig le la / lhag pa'i lha yang yod ma yin<sup>2264</sup> / mu med  
brdal bar gnas pa'i phyir<sup>2265</sup> / thams cad du ni gcig pu nyid<sup>2266</sup> / nam mkha' (1.4) lta bu'i  
bdag nyid la<sup>2267</sup> / sems can<sup>2268</sup> med cing sangs rgyas med / rig pa med cing gnas pa  
med<sup>2269</sup> / bri ba med cing 'phel ba med / dus gsum thig le bde ba'i (1.5) phyir<sup>2270</sup> / su la  
phan med gnod mi 'gyur / rnam par dag pa'i snying po la / mngon sum lhun gyis grub pa

<sup>2249</sup> This edition incorporates the following versions in addition to mTshams brag: Vairo rgyud 'bum vol. 1 pp. 316.1-317; gTing skyes vol. Ka p. 455; KSG vol. 103 pp. 277-292(incomplete; lemmata).

<sup>2250</sup> KSG (bcom ldan 'das) sa 'di tra ta ya na la phyag 'tshal lo.

<sup>2251</sup> KSG gdod nas; Tb /Tk /VGB don gnas.

<sup>2252</sup> KSG med pa'i; Tb /Tk /VGB med pas.

<sup>2253</sup> KSG gyis; Tb /Tk /VGB gyi.

<sup>2254</sup> KSG 'chi 'pho 'gyur ba'i dus med do

<sup>2255</sup> Amending dag pas to dag pa'i.

<sup>2256</sup> KSG omits this line without comment.

<sup>2257</sup> KSG mi 'gyur brtan pa gser bzhin no.

<sup>2258</sup> KSG dge ba'i chos dang sdig la sogs / tha snyad tsam yang yod ma yin.

<sup>2259</sup> KSG rnam grol rnam par bcings pa'i / gnyis po (note: grol ba dang bcings ba) de yang gdod nas med.

<sup>2260</sup> KSG (ma rig) pa.

<sup>2261</sup> KSG (don med sgra phyir) de 'brangs na.

<sup>2262</sup> KSG appears to comment on the preceding two lines, but does not quote them.

<sup>2263</sup> Amending zhi bas to zhi ba'i.

<sup>2264</sup> KSG omits the line zhi bas gsal ba'i thig le la, and in its comments reverses the order of the lines that precede and follow it, so reading: lhag pa'i lha yang yod ma yin / [comment]gnag pa'i mun pa sel ba med.

<sup>2265</sup> KSG omits this line without comment.

<sup>2266</sup> KSG thams cad chos ni gcig pa ste.

<sup>2267</sup> KSG omits this line without comment.

<sup>2268</sup> KSG rgyud drug.

<sup>2269</sup> KSG (rig pa med cing) gnas pa med; Tb /Tk /VGB sangs rgyas med.

<sup>2270</sup> KSG omits this line, but probably comments on it (in the phrase: sgrib pa sbyong zhing tshogs sogs pa ni thig le chen po bya ba med pa dang 'gal lo).

ha<sup>2271</sup> / mi snang 'gyur ba med pa ni<sup>2272</sup> / shes rab thabs (l.6) las 'das pa'i phyir<sup>2273</sup> / lam  
dang byang chub med pa ste<sup>2274</sup> / med pa'i snying po shar ba ha<sup>2275</sup> / skal ldan gang zhig  
'byung ba yi<sup>2276</sup> / don du gsungs pa'i dgongs spyod kyang<sup>2277</sup> / (l.7) 'di don gdengs<sup>2278</sup>  
dang ldan pa yis<sup>2279</sup> / gang ltar spyad kyang me tog<sup>2280</sup> skye / <sup>2281</sup>yang dag nges pa'i lung  
'di yang / rang rig klung<sup>2282</sup> du khrol 'dod pas / sems kyi klung<sup>2283</sup> du (**fol. 318 v. /p. 636**)  
brnag pa las<sup>2284</sup> / phal la spro bar mi bya'o / rdzogs pa spyi gcod ces bya ba rdzogs so<sup>2285</sup>

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<sup>2271</sup> KSG omits the preceding two lines without comment.

<sup>2272</sup> KSG snang ba med cing 'gyur ba med.

<sup>2273</sup> KSG shes rab med cing thabs kyang med.

<sup>2274</sup> KSG byang chub med cing lam yang med.

<sup>2275</sup> KSG med pa med de snying po'i don.

<sup>2276</sup> KSG gang zhig skal ldan su yang rung.

<sup>2277</sup> KSG omits this line apparently without comment.

<sup>2278</sup> VGB gdeng.

<sup>2279</sup> KSG gdeng du chos ni 'di 'chang na.

<sup>2280</sup> VGB mi rtogs.

<sup>2281</sup> From this point the KSG commentary quotes no further text found in mTshams brag /Tk /VGB. Its last quotation (from an unknown source) reads “May this, a young monk’s conjured-up advice, at some point realize the meaning of [the] tantra.” (btsun chung 'phrul gyi thugs dam 'di / nam zhig rgyud don don rtog shog).

<sup>2282</sup> VGB /Tk klong.

<sup>2283</sup> VGB klong.

<sup>2284</sup> Tk la.

<sup>2285</sup> VGB so+ha.

## ***Khams gsum sgron ma /Yid bzhin nor bu Edition***

Based on version in mTshams brag, Vol. 1, Tb 36 fol. 318v.1-318v.7<sup>2286</sup>

Bcom ldan 'das dpal<sup>2287</sup> kun (2) tu bzang po la phyag 'tshal lo / khams gsum las 'das yid bzhin nor bu rin po che<sup>2288</sup> / bgrod med rnam par grol ba'i lam ston pa<sup>2289</sup> / gzhan nas btsal bas<sup>2290</sup> rnyed (3) par mi 'gyur te / thig le chen po<sup>2291</sup> kun la khyab par gnas<sup>2292</sup> / rang byung ye shes<sup>2293</sup> ma bcos 'od gsal ba<sup>2294</sup> / bde chen<sup>2295</sup> btsal du<sup>2296</sup> med pas<sup>2297</sup> snying po'i<sup>2298</sup> don /snang mdzad (4) nyid ni<sup>2299</sup> rtag par<sup>2300</sup> kun tu bzang / gnyis med bde ba'i ngang<sup>2301</sup> ste lhun gyis<sup>2302</sup> grub / g.yung drung chen po'i klong du shar ba yis<sup>2303</sup> / bde ba<sup>2304</sup> chen po'i<sup>2305</sup> long spyod rdzogs pa yang<sup>2306</sup> / (5) rtog dpyod<sup>2307</sup> mtshan ma kun las 'das pa'i phyir<sup>2308</sup> / drang srong chen po nyid kyi spyod yul yin<sup>2309</sup> / thams cad<sup>2310</sup> sku

<sup>2286</sup> This edition incorporates the following version in addition to mTshams brag Tb 36: mTshams brag Tb. 41 ch. 10; gTing skyes vol. Ka pp. 456.7-457.5; KSG vol. 103, pp. 355-362 (lemmata).

<sup>2287</sup> Tk omits dpal.

<sup>2288</sup> KSG /Tb 41 (yid bzhin) rin chen dag.

<sup>2289</sup> Tb 41 bgrod me rnam grol lam ston pa.

<sup>2290</sup> Tk /KSG bas; Tb bar. Tb 41 omits btsal bas.

<sup>2291</sup> KSG pos.

<sup>2292</sup> Tb 41 thig le chen po kun khyab gnas.

<sup>2293</sup> KSG (ye) nas. Tb 41 omits ye shes.

<sup>2294</sup> Tb 41 (ma bcos) ye gnas gsal.

<sup>2295</sup> KSG rtsol bas; Tb 41 btsal bas.

<sup>2296</sup> Tb 41 omits du

<sup>2297</sup> KSG de ;Tb 41 omits pas.

<sup>2298</sup> KSG po.

<sup>2299</sup> KSG rnam par snang mdzad; Tb 41 rnam snang.

<sup>2300</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>2301</sup> KSG (bde ba'i) mchog; Tb 41 bde mchog.

<sup>2302</sup> KSG kyis.

<sup>2303</sup> KSG rtag pa chen po bde la rtag spyod pa ; Tb 41 rtag chen bde la rtag spyod pa.

<sup>2304</sup> Tb 41 omits ba.

<sup>2305</sup> KSG po; Tb 41 omits po'i.

<sup>2306</sup> KSG /Tb 41 ni.

<sup>2307</sup> Tk spyod.

<sup>2308</sup> KSG and Tb 41 omit this line.

<sup>2309</sup> KSG rnal byor chen po rnam kyi spyod yul ni; Tb 41 'di shes rnal 'byor spyod yul te /drang srong chen po rnam kyi ni /spyod yul yin zhes nges par gsungs / There are no further lines from the text in Tb 41.

<sup>2310</sup> KSG omits thams cad.

gsung thugs kyi dkyil 'khor la<sup>2311</sup> / shes te rtogs<sup>2312</sup> pa'i klong du (6) mnyam bzhag<sup>2313</sup> nas / grub pa'i<sup>2314</sup> khyad par mngon du shar ba'i tshe / khams gsum kun kyang bdag gi zhabs la 'dud / byang chub kyi sems khams gsum sgron ma rdzogs (7) so.

### **Khams gsum sgron ma**

#### **sDe dge version**

Vol. Ra, fol. 215r.1-5 (p. 429.1)<sup>2315</sup>

rgya gar skad du / trai lo kya pra ti ba / bod skad du / khams gsum sgron ma / chos nyid stong pa'i dag<sup>2316</sup> la phyag 'tshal lo / <sup>2317</sup>khams gsum sgron ma rkyen dang bral / ma rig mun sel blos<sup>2318</sup> ma reg / gzhan nas (l.2) btsal bas<sup>2319</sup> rnyed mi 'gyur / thig le brdal<sup>2320</sup> ba'i rang byung bde / rig pa rang shar bcos su med / lhun grub btsal du gdod nas med / snying po'i snying po gnyis med mchog / ye nas tha snyad kun dang bral / ji bzhin gsal la rtog med do <sup>2321</sup> / (l.3) don dam spros med yang dag dbyings / btsal du med pas sgom<sup>2322</sup> tshig 'das / ji bzhin klong du gyur pas na / rnam dag don la mkhas pa yin / gdod nas ma skyes brdal<sup>2323</sup> ba'i klong / don dam rtogs<sup>2324</sup> pas chos kyi sku / long spyod bde chen rgyal po'i

<sup>2311</sup> KSG sku gsung thugs dang lhan cig pa'o. There are no further quotations from the text in KSG.

<sup>2312</sup> Amending rtog to rtogs.

<sup>2313</sup> Tk bzhag; Tb gzhag.

<sup>2314</sup> Tk grung ba'i (?unclear).

<sup>2315</sup> Also found as Chapter 14 of Tb 41 /Dg 123.

<sup>2316</sup> Dg vol. Ra unclear.

<sup>2317</sup> Tb 41 /Dg 123 omit preceding text. Their chapter 14 opens with: de nas bcom ldan bka' stsal pa.

<sup>2318</sup> Dg 123 blas.

<sup>2319</sup> Tb 41 bar.

<sup>2320</sup> Tb 41 gdal.

<sup>2321</sup> Tb 41 (med) do; Dg 123 do (?possibly de; unclear); Dg vol. Ra don.

<sup>2322</sup> Dg 123 bsgom.

<sup>2323</sup> Dg 123 brdal; Tb 41 gdal; Dg vol. Ra gsal.

<sup>2324</sup> Dg 123 rtog.

(1.4) sku / ye shes rol pas<sup>2325</sup> sprul pa'i sku<sup>2326</sup> / thugs rje byang chub sems dpa'i lam / ma  
g.yos rtog med chos<sup>2327</sup> kyi lam / rang bzhin gnas pas bde ba'i rdzong<sup>2328</sup> / kham s gsum  
mun sel<sup>2329</sup> sgron ma'i mchog / bde chen rang byung thugs rje<sup>2330</sup> gsal / (1.5) kham s gsum  
sgron ma rdzogs so/ <sup>2331</sup>

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<sup>2325</sup> Dg 123 pa.

<sup>2326</sup> Tb 41 (sprul) pas sprul; Dg 123 (sprul) pa'i sprul.

<sup>2327</sup> Tb 41 /Dg 123 chos; Dg vol Ra ches.

<sup>2328</sup> Tb 41 /Dg 123 klong.

<sup>2329</sup> Tb 41 /Dg 123 (kham s gsum) gsal byed.

<sup>2330</sup> Tb 41 rje.

<sup>2331</sup> Tb 41 /Dg 123 conclude: rin chen sgrol (Dg 123 sgron) mas thugs rje rdzogs /rin po che dang mnyam  
pa skye ba med pa'i rgyud las /kham s gsum sgron ma'i le'i ste bcu bzhi pa'o.



## *Kun 'dus Edition*

Based on mTshams brag vol. 1, fol. 312v.-313v.2 (pp. 624.3-626.2)<sup>2332</sup>

rgya gar skad du / sa rba a ta<sup>2333</sup> / bod skad du / kun 'dus / bcom ldan 'das<sup>2334</sup> bya bral (1.4)  
bde ba'i<sup>2335</sup> ngang la phyag 'tshal lo / chos sku ye nas rnam par<sup>2336</sup> rab dben pa'i / <sup>2337</sup>mam  
rtog bla dags<sup>2338</sup> yul las 'das pa'i phyir<sup>2339</sup> / yod med stong<sup>2340</sup> pa'i mtha' ni dbyings su  
(1.5) gcig / dbyings<sup>2341</sup> nyid gcig la<sup>2342</sup> lta ba'i khyad par dgur snang ste<sup>2343</sup> / snang  
'dod<sup>2344</sup> rtsol ba'i<sup>2345</sup> sems ni<sup>2346</sup> sdug bsngal <sup>2347</sup>nad / chos nyid ngang gi gnas pa'i  
<sup>2348</sup>rang bzhin las / (1.6) thugs rje chen po'i<sup>2349</sup> mkha' ltar khyab pa ni<sup>2350</sup> / thabs kyis rol  
pas 'dod dgur bsgyur<sup>2351</sup> ba'i dpal / chos rnams sna tshogs ji bzhin<sup>2352</sup> snang ba las<sup>2353</sup> /  
tha snyad thams (1.7) cad byang chub mchog gi lam / snying po byang chub mchog tu  
nges pa las<sup>2354</sup> / gzung 'dzin<sup>2355</sup> bgrod pa'i yul ni ga la yod / tha snyad tsam du 'du<sup>2356</sup>  
shes<sup>2357</sup> bya mod kyi<sup>2358</sup> / (fol. 625) dam du bcas pa'i yul yang rdul tsam med / dam du

<sup>2332</sup> This edition incorporates the following versions in addition to mTshams brag: gTing skyes vol. Ka pp. 443.6-445.3; KSG vol. 103, pp.363-380 (lemmata).

<sup>2333</sup> Tk tha.

<sup>2334</sup> KSG omits all text preceding bya bral.

<sup>2335</sup> KSG omits bde ba'i.

<sup>2336</sup> KSG pas.

<sup>2337</sup> KSG inserts 'khor ba'i.

<sup>2338</sup> Tk dag.

<sup>2339</sup> KSG (bla dags) yul spangs pa'i.

<sup>2340</sup> KSG yod dang med.

<sup>2341</sup> KSG mnyam.

<sup>2342</sup> KSG pas

<sup>2343</sup> KSG (gcig pas) bltas dgu de ltar snang.

<sup>2344</sup> KSG 'od ('ong?).

<sup>2345</sup> KSG omits ba'i.

<sup>2346</sup> KSG omits ni.

<sup>2347</sup> KSG inserts che ba'i.

<sup>2348</sup> KSG chos ngang gar ma chad pa'i.

<sup>2349</sup> KSG omits 'i.

<sup>2350</sup> KSG (chen po) nam mkha'i dbyings nas 'byung.

<sup>2351</sup> Tk /KSG sgyur.

<sup>2352</sup> KSG (ji) snyed.

<sup>2353</sup> KSG yang.

<sup>2354</sup> KSG (mchog) ni yin shes na.

<sup>2355</sup> KSG bza' shing.

<sup>2356</sup> KSG 'dul.

<sup>2357</sup> KSG zhes.

<sup>2358</sup> KSG kyang

bcas pa'i yul med gsal ba na<sup>2359</sup> / dam du bcas kyang skyon<sup>2360</sup> med nam mkha' 'dra / 'dod  
 (1.2) dgur<sup>2361</sup> sgyur<sup>2362</sup> ba'i<sup>2363</sup> snying rje thabs chen la<sup>2364</sup> / bsam dgu lhun gyis grub par  
 byed pa yang<sup>2365</sup> / ye shes klong<sup>2366</sup> du shar ba'i rnal 'byor bas<sup>2367</sup> / sa mchog 'di ni ma  
 bsgrubs<sup>2368</sup> (1.3) lhun gyis grub<sup>2369</sup> / bag la nyal ba'i skyon rnams ma lus kun / ye shes 'od  
 gsal rang la shar ba'i phyir<sup>2370</sup> / theg chen 'di ni mkha' la nyi shar bzhin / mtha' (1.4) yi<sup>2371</sup>  
 mun pa med par ye nas gsal<sup>2372</sup> / bsgom pa'i yul la 'dzin pa'i gnas med pas<sup>2373</sup> / bsgom  
 chags bde ba bdag 'dzin<sup>2374</sup> sdug bsngal yin / bsgom pa'i gnas (1.5) med rig pa rang dbang  
 na<sup>2375</sup> / bsgoms kyang skyon med thams cad nam mkha'i klong<sup>2376</sup> / gang yang ma bkol  
 kun gyi re ba klong<sup>2377 2378</sup> / mnyam pa nyid kyi man ngag gter chen (1.6) gyis<sup>2379</sup> / kun la  
 khyab cing thams cad rang la rdzogs<sup>2380</sup> /<sup>2381</sup> de la cha shas rim pas bza' ba med / ye  
 nas<sup>2382</sup> bdud rtsi chen po yin pa la / gzhan nas btsal bas (1.7) 'grub par mi 'gyur zhing / ma  
 btsal lhun gyis grub pa'i dbyings 'gyur la / rnam pa kun tu che bas byang chub lam /  
 thams cad dgongs spyod ye nas dag pa la / **(fol. 626)** 'khrul dang ma 'khrul cis kyang  
 nyams pa med / thams cad 'dus te cir yang mi snang bas / dus gsum rgyal ba'i dgongs pa  
 de na gsal / byang chub kyi sems (1.2) kun 'dus rdzogs so / /

<sup>2359</sup> KSG (yul med) rab rtogs na.

<sup>2360</sup> KSG /STMG skyon.

<sup>2361</sup> KSG rgyur.

<sup>2362</sup> Tk bsgyur.

<sup>2363</sup> KSG zhi.

<sup>2364</sup> STMG (thabs chen) mi spongs; KSG mi spangs.

<sup>2365</sup> KSG gzhan ci 'dod par rang snang ba ni sgyur.

<sup>2366</sup> KSG klung.

<sup>2367</sup> KSG pa.

<sup>2368</sup> Tk sgrubs.

<sup>2369</sup> KSG (lhun gyis) rdzogs.

<sup>2370</sup> KSG ('od gsal) chen pos rab gsal nas.

<sup>2371</sup> Tk /KSG mtha'i.

<sup>2372</sup> KSG (mun pa) ye nas med ces gsungs.

<sup>2373</sup> KSG (yul) med de la bsgom mi gnas.

<sup>2374</sup> Tb /Tk bsgom bcas de dag 'dzin pa'i.

<sup>2375</sup> KSG (gnas med) dag tu rab rtogs na.

<sup>2376</sup> KSG (skyon med) chos dbyings nam mkha' 'dra.

<sup>2377</sup> Tk skong.

<sup>2378</sup> KSG bkol ba med de kun gyi re skongs ba'i.

<sup>2379</sup> KSG mnyam nyid ngang rtogs theg chen 'di dag ni.

<sup>2380</sup> KSG (khyab cing) ma rdzogs chos gang med.

<sup>2381</sup> KSG does not quote any further source text, apart from commenting word by word on the closing colophon, which can be reconstructed from it as: byang chub sems rin po che kun 'dus rdzogs so.

<sup>2382</sup> Tk des na.

### sDe dge version

Vol. Ra, fol. 214v. 1-7 (p.198)<sup>2383</sup>

rgya gar skad du / sa rba a ta / bod skad du / kun 'dus /spros med chos la phyag 'tshal lo /  
<sup>2384</sup>sna tshogs gcig tu 'dus pa'i ngang / 'byung ba bzhi nyid nam mkhar / (1.2) 'dus / nam  
mkha' dper<sup>2385</sup> bstan byang chub sems / rig pa rang la rdzogs pas na / kun 'dus rgyal po  
rab smras so<sup>2386</sup> /lta ba'i klong chen<sup>2387</sup> a ti la<sup>2388</sup> / theg brgyad<sup>2389</sup> so so'i don brjod nas /  
grub pa gcig tu nges par<sup>2390</sup> 'dus / yid (1.3) la ma yengs brjod med bzhag / ma lus sangs  
rgyas sems su 'dus / rtsa ba bral ba'i sems nyid de / sus kyang ma byas ye nas gnas / mi  
'gyur lhun gyis grub pa yi / yang dag chos nyid dbyings kyi bla<sup>2391</sup> / rgyu la rag ma lus<sup>2392</sup>  
pa'i sems / bde (1.4) chen 'dus 'bral med pa'i lam<sup>2393</sup> / 'bras bu rang la rdzogs pas su /  
snang srid thams cad ye sangs rgyas / bdag dang bral bas 'khor ba chod / dpal ldan sku  
gsum rang byung bde / sangs rgyas ma lus dbyings su gcig / skye med don la thabs kyis  
'dus / ma bcos<sup>2394</sup> (1.5) ngang du 'gro<sup>2395</sup> bas na / thams cad thugs rje<sup>2396</sup> thabs kyis btul /  
gcig la<sup>2397</sup> med pa'i rin chen 'di / gzung 'dzin zad<sup>2398</sup> pas mnyam pa'i rgyal / ye shes rol  
pas gcig tu gsal / snying rje<sup>2399</sup> med par<sup>2400</sup> gsod pa dang / lta<sup>2401</sup> ba med par<sup>2402</sup> za ba

<sup>2383</sup> The sDe dge version is also found as Ch. 7 of the Khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa rin po che dang mnyam pa  
skye ba med pa'i rgyud, Tb 41 and Dg 123.

<sup>2384</sup> Dg 123 /Tb.4 omit text preceding this point, instead opening their chapter seven with the phrase: de nas  
bcom ldan bka' stsal pa.

<sup>2385</sup> Dg 123 dpe.

<sup>2386</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 rang smra'o.

<sup>2387</sup> Dg 123 chen; Dg Vol. Ra tshogs.

<sup>2388</sup> Tb 41 / Dg 123 (? smudged) las.

<sup>2389</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 pa.

<sup>2390</sup> Tb 41 pas.

<sup>2391</sup> Dg 123 klong [\*NB that sDe dge Vol Ra text here follows Tb 41 rather than sDe dge 123].

<sup>2392</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 lus; Dg vol Ra las.

<sup>2393</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 lam; Dg vol Ra sems.

<sup>2394</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 spros.

<sup>2395</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 grol.

<sup>2396</sup> Dg 123 rje'i; Tb 41 /Dg vol Ra thugs rje.

<sup>2397</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 las.

<sup>2398</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 spangs.

<sup>2399</sup> Tb 41 brtse.

<sup>2400</sup> Dg 123 par; Dg vol Ra pas ; Tb 41 cing.

<sup>2401</sup> Dg 123 blta.

<sup>2402</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 par ; Dg vol Ra pas.

ni<sup>2403</sup> / 'gro drug ye nas sangs rgyas te / thams cad lhag ma med par<sup>2404</sup> (1.6) bsgral / ji<sup>2405</sup>  
 ltar snang ba kun tu khyab / ye nas gcig gi ngang du 'dus / byas na 'ching ba'i lam yin  
 la<sup>2406</sup> / ma bsgrubs 'dus 'bral med par bstan / ye nas yin pa'i<sup>2407</sup> bde chen de / gnas la  
 chags pa med pas na / 'dus las ma byas snang ba de<sup>2408</sup> / kun la khyab pas spro (1.7) bsdu  
 med / gang yang ma 'gags so sor gsal / ma lus 'dus pa'i rgyan du che / rag ma lus pa'i rgya  
 mdud de / gzhan gyis bcos su ye med pas<sup>2409</sup> / sprul pa'i rgya mtsho thams cad kun / gzhi  
 rtsa med pa'i ngang du gzhag<sup>2410</sup> / sus kyang ma byas nyid la 'dus / kun 'dus rdzogs so<sup>2411</sup>  
 / /

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<sup>2403</sup> Dg 123 yis; Tb 41 yi.

<sup>2404</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 par ; Dg vol Ra pa.

<sup>2405</sup> Dg 123 ci.

<sup>2406</sup> Tb 41 no.

<sup>2407</sup> Dg 123 pas.

<sup>2408</sup> Dg 123 ste.

<sup>2409</sup> Dg 123 (gcos su) med pa yis; Tb 41 ye nas med.

<sup>2410</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 bzhag.

<sup>2411</sup> Dg 123 /Tb 41 in place of this conclusion both have: rin po che dang mnyam pa skye ba med pa'i rgyud  
 las /kun 'dus rig pa'i le'u ste bdun pa'o.

### *rJe btsan dam pa Edition*

Based on mTshams brag vol.1, fol. 296v.7-297v.1 (pp. 592.7-594.1)<sup>2412</sup>

rgya gar (**fol. 297r.**) skad du / tsa ra sha ar tha' / bod skad du / rje btsan dam pa / bcom  
ldan 'das dpal kun tu bzang po la phyag 'tshal lo / <sup>2413</sup>shin tu rnal 'byor (1.2) lha yi<sup>2414</sup> lha /  
rnal 'byor las<sup>2415</sup> kyang rnal 'byor mchog / 'phags pa las kyang 'phags pa ni<sup>2416</sup> / rdo rje  
rgyal ba kun gyi<sup>2417</sup> mes / rje btsan<sup>2418</sup> dam pa kun tu bzang / rdo (1.3) rje 'chang rgyal  
'jigs pa'i skyabs / nyams pa'i chad pa byung ba la / mgon<sup>2419</sup> btsun de las gzhan med  
do<sup>2420</sup> / der gzhol ba<sup>2421</sup> ni mchod pa'i sprin / kun<sup>2422</sup> tu<sup>2423</sup> gnas (1.4) pas sgrub<sup>2424</sup> thabs  
so / ngang gis mi ldog dngos grub pas / don kun<sup>2425</sup> phyag rgyar<sup>2426</sup> rdzogs pa yin<sup>2427</sup> /  
bde chen lhun gyis rdzogs pa yang<sup>2428</sup> / 'di dag kun gyi bla ma ste<sup>2429</sup> / (1.5) mngon sum  
sangs rgyas yin pa<sup>2430</sup> na / 'dra bar<sup>2431</sup> dang ba'i mchog bskyed do<sup>2432</sup> / nges pa'i lung ston  
dpa' bo yis / lung chen de dag la bstan nas / mkhas pas lung (1.6) bzhin rgyud pa yis<sup>2433</sup> /

<sup>2412</sup> This edition incorporates the following versions in addition to mTshams brag: gTing skyes vol. 1, pp. 442.6-443.5; Vairo rgyud 'bum (incomplete and fragmentary) vol. 4, pp. 144.5-145.2 and p. 150.2-3; KSG vol. 103 pp. 292-302 (lemmata).

<sup>2413</sup> VGB omits previous lines, inserting the text in the Byang chub sems rdo rje 'od 'phro'i brgyud kyi rim pa. KSG commentary also omits these lines, reading: bcom ldan 'das dpal kun tu bzang po sku gsung thugs rdo rje bde ba chen po lhun gyis rdzogs pa la phyag 'tshal lo.

<sup>2414</sup> VGB lha'i; Tk /KSG lha'i.

<sup>2415</sup> KSG bas.

<sup>2416</sup> VGB /KSG pas na.

<sup>2417</sup> Tk gyis.

<sup>2418</sup> VGB brtsan.

<sup>2419</sup> KSG 'gon.

<sup>2420</sup> VGB at this point has five extra pages of text not found in Tk or mTshams brag (or sDe dge) (pages 145.2 to 150.2), rejoining the mTshams brag and Tk versions in their next line.

<sup>2421</sup> VGB /KSG der.

<sup>2422</sup> VGB /KSG klung.

<sup>2423</sup> VGB /KSG du.

<sup>2424</sup> KSG bsgrubs.

<sup>2425</sup> VGB du.

<sup>2426</sup> VGB /KSG rgya.

<sup>2427</sup> VGB omits the rest of the text from this point. Instead it has five and a half pages of text not shared with the other witnesses.

<sup>2428</sup> KSG omits this line.

<sup>2429</sup> KSG yang.

<sup>2430</sup> Tk /KSG pas.

<sup>2431</sup> KSG ba.

<sup>2432</sup> KSG de.

<sup>2433</sup> KSG appears to paraphrase these preceding lines in its commentary, but only quotes the following as part of the text: 'di bstan 'di dag la brten nas.

snum<sup>2434</sup> pa'i dam tshig bskang ba yin<sup>2435</sup> / thugs rje thabs dang ldan pa yis<sup>2436</sup> 2437 / phan  
 par bzhed<sup>2438</sup> pa'i skye bo la / cha shas tshang bar<sup>2439</sup> mdor bsdus (l.7) nas / 'jug pa tsam  
 zhis<sup>2440</sup> skabs 'dir dbye'o<sup>2441</sup> / <sup>2442</sup>lung dang man ngag gi don yi ge<sup>2443</sup> nyung yang<sup>2444</sup> don  
 rgya chen bsdus te / ma lus 'grel cing theg pa mtha' dag gi don bkod (**fol. 297v.**) pa /  
 byang chub kyi sems bsam gtan nges pa'i rgyal po /<sup>2445</sup> rje btsan dam pa rdzogs so //

### sDe dge Version

(**vol. Ra, fol. 214r.4-214v.1**)<sup>2446</sup>

rgya gar skad du / tsa ra sha ar tha' / bod skad du / rje btsan dam pa / rtogs pa'i lha la  
 phyag 'tshal lo / byang chub sems kyi rje btsan dam / ston pa'i thugs la bton te bshad /  
<sup>2447</sup>skyon gyis (l.5) gos<sup>2448</sup> med gdod nas dag / ma btsal bzhag<sup>2449</sup> na sgom<sup>2450</sup> pa'i mchog  
 / 'gro kun gnas pa'i byang chub sems / mi 'gyur rje btsan chos kyi sku / ngang gnas mi  
 nub rdo rje'o / snang dang mi snang gnyis med de / bde chen yongs (l.6) rdzogs<sup>2451</sup> rje

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<sup>2434</sup> Tk bsum.

<sup>2435</sup> KSG (bskyang) ba'i phyir.

<sup>2436</sup> Tk yin.

<sup>2437</sup> KSG omits this line.

<sup>2438</sup> KSG mdzad.

<sup>2439</sup> KSG (cha shas) bar bsam.

<sup>2440</sup> Tk cig.

<sup>2441</sup> KSG dbye.

<sup>2442</sup> KSG omits the rest of the text from here to the conclusion.

<sup>2443</sup> Tk yig.

<sup>2444</sup> Tk inserts shad.

<sup>2445</sup> Tk omits /

<sup>2446</sup> The sDe dge version is also found in Tb 41, Ch. 5 and Dg 123.

<sup>2447</sup> Tb 41 chapter 5 (fol. 358 r.3-358 v.2; pp. 715-716) omits preceding lines.

<sup>2448</sup> Amending Dg dgos (? unclear); Tb 41 sgor, to gos med.

<sup>2449</sup> Tb 41 gzhag.

<sup>2450</sup> Tb 41 bsgom

<sup>2451</sup> Tb 41 rdzogs; Dg rtog.

btsan sku / ya mtshan mkha' la rig<sup>2452</sup> pa'i thugs / smra bsam yul las shin tu 'das / dmigs  
 med don rtogs<sup>2453</sup> chos kyi rje / snang ba'i yul la<sup>2454</sup> gang gnas kyang / rje btsan sku la  
 g.yos pa med / yi (l.7)ge 'bru la rtog pa nams / rje btsan don la<sup>2455</sup> nyams te dman / phyi  
 nang gnyis ka bde chen po / rje btsan dam<sup>2456</sup> pa'i rang rig<sup>2457</sup> sems / 'khor ba myang 'das  
 gnyis med de / ji ltar bltas pas byang chub sems / ye sangs (**p. 214v.**) rgyas pas chos kyi  
 sku / rje btsan dam pa rdzogs so / <sup>2458</sup>

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<sup>2452</sup> Tb 41 rig; Dg rigs.

<sup>2453</sup> Tb 41 rtog.

<sup>2454</sup> Tb 41 la; Dg las.

<sup>2455</sup> Tb 41 las; Dg la.

<sup>2456</sup> Tb 41 dam; Dg rtogs.

<sup>2457</sup> Tb 41 byang chub.

<sup>2458</sup> Tb 41 omits final line in favor of its own chapter ending.

*sGom pa don grub Edition*<sup>2459</sup>

Based on the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang Nor bu manuscript NGB, vol. Ka, fol. 185r.4-185v.3<sup>2460</sup>

**(fol. 185r.4)**

rgya gar skad du / bo dhi tsi ta sa ma ti a mo gha tsa na ma / bod skad du / byang chub kyi  
sems sgom pa don grub pa zhes bya ba / dpal kun tu bzang po bde ba chen po la phyag  
'tshal [lo] / thug rje rgya mtsho (l. 5) sems can kun la khyab / lha dang klu yang bden pa'i  
bka' nyan te / dkon mchog gsum ni nam yang bskur mi bya / chos nyid rtogs [pa<sup>2461</sup>] bde  
ba chen por grub / skyes bu chen po rang gis rig nas rtogs pa 'di / skal (l. 6) ldan  
rnams<sup>2462</sup> kyi blo la go bar gyis / <sup>2463</sup>chos dang sems ni<sup>2464</sup> ye nas gnyis su med / sems kyi  
rang bzhin btsal yang<sup>2465</sup> ma<sup>2466</sup> rnyed na<sup>2467</sup> / gzhan la 'di 'dra zhes ni bstan du med /  
sems dang chos<sup>2468</sup> ni ci yang ma yin pas / sgom<sup>2469</sup> (l. 7) pa'i tshe na ci yang mi bsgom  
mo / rnam par rtog pa'i mtshan ma ci byung yang<sup>2470</sup> / rtog pa de nyid chos nyid yin shes  
na / chos kyi dbyings ni<sup>2471</sup> gzhan du<sup>2472</sup> bsgom<sup>2473</sup> mi dgos / de la gnyen pos bcos shing  
dgag tu med / 'di<sup>2474</sup> **(fol.185v.)** ltar dus gsum rnam pa thams cad du<sup>2475</sup> / nyid las ma  
yengs pa ni chos kyi sku / stobs su gyur na 'jig rten rang bzhin med / thugs rje sprul pas

<sup>2459</sup> Cover title: Sems bsgom don drug pa. Title in text: Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa don grub pa.

Title in colophon: byang chub kyi sems bsgom pa don drug pa.

<sup>2460</sup> Most of the text is found also as chapter 3 of Tb. 40, the Chos thams cad byang chub kyi sems rdzogs pa chen po 'khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud (=Tk. 18, Dg. 121, Bg. 25). It is also embedded as lemmata in the commentary found in bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa vol. 103, pp.139-178, entitled Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa don drug pa'i 'grel pa rin po che'i sgron me.

<sup>2461</sup> The line is a syllable short here. *Pa* is my insertion.

<sup>2462</sup> Amending rnam to rnams.

<sup>2463</sup> Dg 121 /Tb 40 ch. 3 follows the text from this point on.

<sup>2464</sup> Tk gnyis.

<sup>2465</sup> Tk na; VGB kyang.

<sup>2466</sup> D /Tb /Tk /VGB mi.

<sup>2467</sup> Tk yang.

<sup>2468</sup> D /VGB chos dang sems.

<sup>2469</sup> Tk /VGB bsgom.

<sup>2470</sup> Tb /Tk ci yang 'byung.

<sup>2471</sup> Tk / VGB nyid.

<sup>2472</sup> D /Tb /Tk / VGB nas.

<sup>2473</sup> D /Tb /VGB btsal.

<sup>2474</sup> VGB de.

<sup>2475</sup> D kun.



kun la khyab mdzad cing / sems can rnams<sup>2476</sup> la byam<sup>2477</sup> pa'i char chen (l. 2) 'bebs /  
 bsgom dang bsgom par bya ba gnyis med na / don dam ngang la bde<sup>2478</sup> bar gnas pa ni /  
 byang chub sems sgom<sup>2479</sup> zhes kyang de la bya / rtogs<sup>2480</sup> pa'i klung<sup>2481</sup> chen ma yengs  
 don ldan na<sup>2482</sup> / rnam dag byang chub sems (l. 3) kyi bsgom pa yin<sup>2483</sup> / byang chub kyi  
 sems bsgom pa don drug pa rdzogs so//

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<sup>2476</sup> Amending rnam to rnams.

<sup>2477</sup> D /Tb /Tk /VGB byams.

<sup>2478</sup> VGB bde'.

<sup>2479</sup> D /Tb /Tk /VGB bsgom.

<sup>2480</sup> VGB rtogs; Rig 'dzin /Tk /Tb rtog.

<sup>2481</sup> D /KSG klung; Rig 'dzin rlung; Tk klong.

<sup>2482</sup> D /Tb /Tk / VGB (don) ldan na; Rig 'dzin ston pa.

<sup>2483</sup> Dg 121 /Tb 40 /Tk 18 /Bg (VGB) 25 ch. 3 closes here with the phrase: nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud las / zab mo don drug gi le'u ste gsum pa'o.

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## Appendix

### Locations of Cited Passages of the *Lung chen po bco brgyad* in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*.

**Khu byug** 2 citations: (347.4; 323.3)

**rTsal chen** 3 citations: (30.6;50.3;347.6)

**Khyung chen** 19 citations: 60.6; 317.3; 339.5; 341.2; 341.5; 347.3; 353.3; 356.3; 368.5; 382.6; 412.6; 413.4; 421.3; 431.6; 434.5; 451.6; *Khyung chen lding ba'i rgyud*: 304.4; *Khyung chen lding ba*: 314.6; *Khyung chen ldings pa*: 319.2

**rDo la gser zhun** 296.2; 313.6; *Sems bsgom*: (but all found in DLSZ)349.3; 367.5; 433.3; 433.6; 440.2; 441.1; 450.6; 455.5; *Sems bsgom pa*: 473.5; 488.4;  
<'jam dpal bshes gnyen gyis bzhed> *Sems bsgom*: 414.5 (Only located so far in *Kun byed rgyal po* Ch. 26 version of the DLSZ).

**Nam mkha' che** 24 citations: 50.2; 64.1; 319.3; 323.5; 331.2; 352.4; 353.5; 364.5; 368.4; 383.4; 385.1; 412.6; 414.1; 433.3; 434.4; 435.3; 435.6; 447.6; 451.6; 456.2; 463.2; 484.2; 489.3; *rDo rje sems dpa' nam mkha' che*: 295.3.  
*Nam mkha' che lcags 'grel*: 338.6.  
Also a reference to *Nam mkha' che bka' lung* at 28.6.

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**rTse mo byung rgyal** 12 citations: 13.6; 324.1; 331.6; 340.1; 371.1; 430.1; 445.4; 452.4; 455.5; 456.4; 484.3; 486.3.

**Nam mkha'i rgyal po** 13 citations: 304.3; 328.3; 341.4; 342.5; 349.1; 366.5; 415.3; 432.1; 434.1; 436.1; 436.4;436.6; 456.3.

**'Phra bkod** 5 citations: 331.5; 342.6; 354.1; 373.5; 383.5.

**sPyi bcings** 4 citations: 329.5; 452.6; 295.5; 311.5.  
Also a reference at 284.3.

**Byang chub sems tig** 1 citation: 317.5.  
(Also cited is *sProd pa med pa'i tig*: 370.5).

**bDe 'byams** 5 citations: 324.6; 332.1; 348.2; 372.4; 447.5.

**Srog gi 'khor lo** 4 citations: 292.4; 323.6; 383.5; 446.2.

**Thig le drug pa** 3 citations: 314.3; 347.5; 452.2.

**sPyi gcod** 4 citations: 325.2; 365.2; 424.2; 452.6

**Yid bzhin nor bu** 1 citation: 348.3

**(Rin chen kun) 'dus** 14 citations: *Rin po che kun 'dus*: 12.4; 29.1; 324.4; 347.6; 416.3; 446.2; 486.4; *Byang chub kyi sems rin po che kun 'dus*: 317.4; *Rin chen kun 'dus*: 372.2

**rJe btsan dam pa** 2 citations: 332.2; 348.4

**Don drug pa** 2 citations: 441.3-4; 474.6.

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